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The *Doxa* Motif in Paul

A Narrative Approach to the Vindication of the Glory of God through Christ

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the use and meaning of the *doxa* motif in undisputed Pauline literature. While *doxa* and its derivatives occur 72 times in undisputed letters and 96 times altogether in Pauline literature, the *doxa* motif has not received sufficient attention in Pauline studies. By examining Pauline *doxa* passages, the purpose of this research is to answer the following five questions:

- (1) What are the most significant characters and events that are attached to the *doxa* motif in the Jewish Scriptures? Consequently, what kind of narrative substructure, if any, do they form?
- (2) What are the characters and the events that are linked with *doxa*, and how do they relate to one another in Paul's undisputed letters?
- (3) How do the characters and the substructure of the Jewish Scriptures shape the logic of argumentation in passages where Paul mentions *doxa*?
- (4) How does Paul *develop* and *redefine* the narrative *doxa* motif in light of the Christ-event and the contemporary context, namely in the midst of the imperial cult that he is facing?
- (5) How does Paul want his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify with the narrative characters in the story?

While the first question provides a necessary background for my study, the last four questions guide my research. The purpose of this methodology is to strive for us to comprehend the use of *doxa* in Pauline thought in light of the larger sub-narrative and the characters in the narrative.

Using a narrative methodology, this study suggests that Paul inherited a meaning and a *doxa* narrative with characters from the Jewish Scriptures. While the Hebrew word that is most commonly translated *doxa* is *kabod*, twenty-nine other Hebrew words are also translated as *doxa*. Thus, the semantic range of *doxa* is not limited to honor, but also includes the following connotations: aesthetic beauty, riches and wealth, either figurative or literal majestic strength and weight, a visible manifestation, separateness and holiness, and a form and likeness. The major character attached to *doxa* is the intrinsic character of the *doxa* of the Lord, referring to his moral character of holiness, superiority over other gods, and visible manifestation. Additionally, the Lord grants, gives and crowns *doxa* to Adam (i.e. humanity), to Israel, to royal kings, and to the eschatological Servant. Moreover, there was an eschatological expectation of the vindication of the *doxa* of the Lord through the eschatological Servant.

This dissertation suggests that Paul inherited the aforementioned narrative characters and developed and refined them in light of the Christ-event. Paul redefined the *doxa* of God as the identity of God's intrinsic and essential character of importance, highlighted in his divine presence, truth, immortality, honor, judgment, and sovereign grace. Furthermore, Paul considers Adam (i.e. humanity) and Israel to be the representative of God's derived *doxa* and image.

Paul wanted his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify with the fallen Adam and with Israel, i.e. those who do not display the *doxa* of God due to idolatry. Paul then identifies Christ both as the intrinsic *doxa* of God, who represents God *and* the derivative *doxa* of God, namely the second Adam, the royal king, and the eschatological Servant. Thus, the Christ-event, his death, crucifixion and resurrection, inaugurates the vindication of *doxa* of God and the eschatological transformation of Adam (i.e. humanity), Israel, nations, and the entire creation. This change is not merely a return to humanity's original image and glory, but a metamorphosis into Christ's greater glory.

Finally, Paul urges his audience to identify, not with the *doxa* of his opponents or Caesar, but with the sufferings of the crucified and risen Christ, the *doxa* of God, in order to glorify God. In his ethical paraenesis, taking into consideration the eschatological hope of total transformation into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ at his *parousia*, Paul encourages believers to identify with Christ, which results in their transformation into the eschatological humanity of Christ-likeness. This transformation encompasses the sexual relationship between male and female as a display of the *doxa* of Christ. In addition, the renewed believing community of Jews and Gentiles that considers others before themselves is another outworking of the transformation. These practices glorify God and are present expressions of the vindication of the *doxa* of God in the believing humanity that awaits the final transformation to the likeness of the derivative glory of Christ. This dissertation contends that the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ and the transformation of the believers into the likeness of the image and *doxa* of Christ is the narrative structure that undergirds Paul's *doxa* motif.

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As I was reading Paul's letter to Romans in Greek, listening to Dr. Rev. John Piper's homilies on the same book, and contemplating the first question and the answer of an old catechism: "What is the purpose of life? To glorify God and enjoy Him forever," an interest arose in my mind and heart: what does Paul exactly mean when referring to glory? With that question in mind, I started my original research project with great excitement. The study continued to be stimulating and enjoyable throughout the process with the help of many people mentioned below. Giving a delivery to a successful end product was, however, a painful progression. While starting to deliver, the baby had to be taken back to the womb twice for further development. Hopefully, the end result is a more mature and accurate presentation of Paul's thought on *doxa*.

Dissertations are not born in a vacuum. Without the following people this project would have not been possible. The New Testament research community of the University of Helsinki has provided a stimulating environment for academic development. I am thankful to my supervisor, Professor Ismo Dunderberg, who has pushed me to dig deeper in my research to improve my academic argumentation, writing, clarity and carefulness. Docent Niko Huttunen, who took a supervising role in the middle of this project, has given much time to reading my work many times to give valuable feedback. His extra effort in sitting down with me numerous times over a cup of coffee to work through where I had got stuck made it possible to get to this point. Many doctoral studies seminar students have given feedback over the years for papers that I have presented there, especially Dr. Susanna Asikainen, Katja Kujanpää, Kenneth Liljeström, Dr. Nina Nikki, and Marika Pulkkinen. Finally, Docent Mark Shackleton did a meticulous job as language editor. Obviously, for any possible remaining mistakes, the responsibility is fully mine.

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was always available in assisting me to find books and articles which I needed quickly through inter-library loan system. Mrs. Reta Beall helped me generously with my English editing of the text.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AbBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>BDAG</i>	Bauer, Walter. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature</i> , 3 rd ed. Revised and edited by Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
<i>BDB</i>	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
<i>BDF</i>	F. Blass, A. DeBrunner, and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961.
<i>BiblInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the NT</i>
<i>JSNTS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the NT, Supplementary Volume</i>
<i>JTI</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	The Septuagint
NA	Nestle-Aland, <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , 27 th ed.
<i>NETS</i>	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NIDOTE</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of the Old Testament & Exegesis</i>

NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIVAC	New International Version Application Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Neue Folge
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTS	New Testament Studies
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary Commentary
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et theologiques</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
SNTSMS	Society for NT Studies Monograph Series
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwoerterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TNIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Workbook of the Old Testament</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
1 QM	Milhamah (War Scroll) from Qumran Cave 1
1 QH	Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Qumran Cave 1 QS Serek hayyahad (Rule of the Community) from Qumran Cave 1

1. INTRODUCTION

“There’s glory for you!” “I don’t know what you mean by ‘glory,’” Alice said. Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously...: “When I use a word” ... “it means just what I choose to mean—neither more nor less.”¹

“For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory forever. Amen.”²

-Apostle Paul

1.1. The Purpose of the Study

This dissertation examines the *doxa* motif in letters that are undisputedly Pauline. The validity of Paul’s apostolic ministry – that he defends with intensity and rhetorical rigor in 2 Corinthians – is based on the message that he appeals to in his opening remarks: “For all the promises of God find their Yes in him [Jesus Christ, whom we proclaimed among you]. That is why it is through him that we utter our Amen to God for his glory [πρὸς δόξαν]” (2 Cor 1:20). Jesus Christ fulfills all the promises of God to vindicate the *doxa* of God.

While Paul upholds his apostolic ministry in this passage by appealing to the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ, he also uses *doxa* on numerous other occasions in his argumentation and defense of his ministry. Indeed, *doxa* occurs in all undisputed and disputed Pauline letters,³ excluding the letter to Philemon. *Doxa*-related words occur 96 times⁴ in the letters that carry Paul’s name and 72 times in undisputed letters alone. As Table 1.1. shows, δόξα, the most common *doxa*-related noun in Paul’s writing, occurs 77 times,⁵ and the most frequent verbal

¹ Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, ed. Peter Hunt and John Tenniel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 190.

² Rom 11:36. Unless otherwise indicated, all Scripture quotations are from English Standard Version (ESV).

³ Most recent critical scholarship accepts the following seven of the thirteen letters as undisputedly Paul’s: Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. The following six letters are considered disputed Pauline letters: Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus. For an introductory discussion on the authorship of these letters, see, for example, David G. Horrell, *An Introduction to the Study of Paul*, 2nd ed., T & T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 6, 125-143; For a helpful introduction on the issue of pseudonymity, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Living Word* (London: SCM, 1987), 65-85.

⁴ See also Carey C. Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric* (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1992), 3-4.

⁵ Rom 1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 8:18, 21; 9:4, 23 (x2); 11:36; 15:7; 16:27; 1 Cor 2:7, 8; 10:31; 11:7 (x2), 15; 15:40, 41 (x4), 43; 2 Cor 1:20; 3:7 (x2), 8, 9 (x2), 10, 11 (x2), 18 (x3); 4:4, 6, 15, 17; 6:8; 8:19, 23; Gal 1:5; Phil 1:11; 2:11; 3:19, 21; 4:19, 20; 1 Thess 2:6, 12, 20; cf. Eph 1:6, 12, 14, 17, 18; 3:13, 16, 21; Col 1:11, 27 (x2); 3:4; 2 Thess 1:9; 2:14; 1 Tim 1:11, 17; 3:16; 2 Tim 2:10; 4:18; Tit 2:13.

form, δοξάζω, is found 12 times.⁶ Other related words include the nouns ἔνδοξος,⁷ κενόδοξος,⁸ and κενοδοξία⁹ and verbs with the prefix συνδοξάζω¹⁰ and ἐνδοξάζω.¹¹

Table 1.1. Occurrences of *Doxa*-related Words in Pauline Literature

Letter	δόξα	ἐνδοξος	κενοδοξία κενόδοξος	δοξάζω	συνδοξάζω ἐνδοξάζω	Total
<u>Undisputed letters</u>						
Romans	16			5	1	22
1 Corinthians	12	1		2		15
2 Corinthians	19			3		22
Galatians	1		1	1		3
Philippians	6		1			7
1 Thessalonians	3					3
Philemon						0
Total	57	1	2	11	1	72
<u>Disputed letters</u>						
Ephesians	8	1				9
Colossians	4					4
2 Thessalonians	2			1	2	5
1 Timothy	3					3
2 Timothy	2					2
Titus	1					1
Total	20	1	0	1	2	24
Total	77	2	2	12	3	96

In this study, I will often use the transliteration, *doxa*, to refer to any δόξα-related forms.¹²

⁶ Rom 1:21; 8:30; 11:13; 15:6, 9; 1 Cor 6:20; 12:26; 2 Cor 3:10 (2x); 2 Cor 9:13; Gal 1:24; cf. 2 Thess 3:1.

⁷ 1 Cor 4:10; cf. Eph 5:27.

⁸ Gal 5:26.

⁹ Phil 2:3.

¹⁰ Rom 8:17.

¹¹ 2 Thess 1:10, 12.

¹² In my study, when referring to δόξα, I sometimes use the English noun “glory,” the most common word used in English translations. The Latin Vulgate often translated δόξα as *glōria*. In his 1382 version, John Wycliffe transliterated the word into *glorie*, and thus “glory” subsequently became the standard translation of δόξα in English. The word “glory” contains a wide semantic domain in English, such as “praise, honor, splendor, great, and beauty.” We must, however, resist the simplification of limiting its understanding to English lexical definitions. See “Glory” in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 4th ed. and “Glory,” in *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. For the etymology of

Despite the number of occurrences in Pauline literature, *doxa* “is a relatively underexplored and yet contested area of Paul’s theology,” as Michael Gorman has recently noted.¹³ This dissertation aims to contribute to the underexamined field of study by exploring the meaning and importance of the *doxa* motif in undisputed Pauline letters by utilizing the narrative approach. Drawing from the language of *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures, this study seeks to discover how Paul uses, develops and redefines the *doxa* motif in light of the Christ-event.

1.2. Methodological Concerns of the Study

How should we study the use of *doxa* language in Pauline letters? As the modern language theory of semantics teaches,¹⁴ and James Barr famously showed as early as 1961 in *The Semantic of Biblical Language*, studies focusing merely on words have serious limitations, dangers, and problems.¹⁵ It is unwarranted to attach the same lexical and/or theological definition of a word to any given context. The danger is to come to the text with a single definition and then use that lexical and theological understanding to interpret the passage. That is to say, equating words and concepts too simplistically leads to an inaccurate and irresponsible interpretation because different authors often use words in different ways. Indeed, even the same author can alter the meaning of a word, depending on the context, including the argumentation, purpose, the audience’s situation, and the social setting. A given author is not necessarily limited or constrained to one definition. Moreover, the same concept can be described by using various words. Certain tantamount aspects can be communicated by synonyms,¹⁶ antonyms,¹⁷ and other literary structures.¹⁸ Even though the recent

glōria in Latin, see *glōria* in Michael de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden, Brill, 2008).

¹³ Michael J. Gorman, *Becoming the Gospel: Paul, Participation and Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 272.

¹⁴ John I. Saeed, *Semantics*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). Cf. F. R. Palmer, *Semantics*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹⁵ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: University Press, 1961). He specifically criticizes the methodology used in G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols., trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76). See also Anthony Thiselton, “Semantics and New Testament Interpretation,” in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. H. Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 75-104; cf. Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983, 1994); Thomas R. Schreiner, *Interpreting the Pauline Epistle*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011), 125-134; and Constantine R. Campbell, *Advances in the Study of Greek: New Insights for Reading the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015), 72-90.

¹⁶ Comparison can be made to some possible words synonymous to δοξάζω: αἰνέω (Rom 15:11); ἁρέσκω (Rom 8:8; 15:1,2, 3; 1 Cor 7:32, 33, 34; 10:33; Gal 1:10; 1 Thess 2:4,15; 4:1; cf. 2 Tim. 2:4); τιμάω, τιμῇ (Rom 2:7,10; 9:21; 12:10; 13:7; 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23, 12:23, 24; 1 Thess 4:41; cf. Eph 6:2; Col 2:23; 1 Tim 1:17; 5:3,17; 6:1,16; 2 Tim 2:20, 21); μεγαλύνω (2 Cor 10:15; Phil 1:20).

¹⁷ For example, ἀτιμία and ἀτιμάζω as the opposite of δοξα and δοξάζω, see Rom 1:24, 26; 2:23; 9:21; 1 Cor 11:14-15; 15:43; 2 Cor 6:8.

¹⁸ For a good example of this, see Stanley Porter, “The Concept of Covenant in Paul,” in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplemental Series, vol. 71, ed. Stanley Porter and

surge in the study of semantic domains has helped and corrected the earlier simplifications of lexicographical studies,¹⁹ efforts that focus on certain words are still quite complex and not without difficulties concerning their methodology.²⁰

Partly because of the corrections being made to over-simplified readings, including an over-harmonized use of words in Paul, the situational nature, including the sociological setting²¹ of Paul's letters, is emphasized in recent scholarship. Sometimes this approach questions, if not even denies, the possibility of any unifying Jewish thought in Paul's letters.²² Given the recognized problems of word studies and the rise of studies that focus on specific situations, talking about a coherent Jewish theology of Paul (not to mention what constitutes the center of his thought) is, according to many, a somewhat impossible task.²³

Jacqueline C. R. de Roo (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 269-285.

¹⁹ See, for example, E. A. Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2 vols. (New York: American Bible Society, 1988); J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*, SBLRBS 25 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); S. E. Porter, *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, SBG 6 (New York: Lang, 1996), 49-74; and Bernard A. Taylor et al., eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

²⁰ James Dunn gives a good example regarding Paul's understanding of *covenant*. "The motif of covenant plays a rather puzzling role in Paul's theology. The problem is not simply that Paul uses the term relatively infrequently, but that his usage seems to be more reactive than expressive of his own cutting edge reflection, and that consequently it is difficult to derive a coherent 'covenant theology' from the passages where the term occurs." James D. G. Dunn, "Did Paul have a covenant theology? Reflections on Romans 9.4 and 11.27," in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplemental Series, vol 71, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 288-307.

²¹ For the use of sociological methodology, see Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality – A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Doubleday, 1966); Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967). See also Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, trans. John H. Schulz (Fortress Press, 1982); Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (Yale: Yale University, 1983); Philip Esler, *The First Christians in their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994); Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Philip Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology*, trans. M. E. Boring (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 42; and Petri Luomanen, Jutta Jokiranta, and Outi Lehtipuu, eds., *Johdatus sosiaaliteolliseen raamatuntutkimukseen* (Helsinki: Suomen Eksegeettinen Seura, 2013).

²² More recently Nina Nikki has argued that social identity causes Paul's inconsistencies in relation to Judaism. Nikki states, "Historical inquiry into Paul's 'opponents' and other 'enemies' mentioned in the NT has recently been re-evaluated in the wake of the so-called linguistic turn and social constructivism, which both stress that texts do not so much reflect reality as actively construe it. Accordingly, Paul's opponents have been viewed mainly as literary, rhetorical and ideological constructs." Moreover, Nikki argues, "I do not think it is necessary or wise to advance from the assumption that Paul always holds the same view or resorts to similar logic with regard to Jewish identity." Nina Nikki, "Opponents and Identity in the Letter to Philippians" (ThD diss, University of Helsinki, 2015), 2, 169 fn. 746 (see also 168-169 and 225-226). See also Zetterholm's evaluation on Räisänen's and Wright's assumptions on Paul's consistencies in relation to his view on Judaism. I am indebted to Nikki for this reference. Magnus Zetterholm, *Approaches to Paul: A Student's Guide to Recent Scholarship* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 124-126.

²³ For those who question coherent Pauline theology, see, for example, Heinrich J. Holzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911), 1-262 and Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, WUNT 29 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 264-269. For a critique of Räisänen's work, see T. E. van Spanje, *Inconsistency in Paul?: A Critique of the Work of Heikki Räisänen*, WUNT 110 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999). See

Methodology that focuses mainly on the situation of the addressees and the socio-economic circumstances can, however, lead to overlooking some of the narratives that Paul inherited from the Jewish Scriptures.²⁴ In Pauline studies, another approach, narrative analysis,²⁵ has been established relatively recently. Richard Hays pioneered this methodology in his seminal work, *The Faith of Jesus Christ* (1983).²⁶ Since then, it has been developed and used by many Pauline

also William Wrede, *Paul* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1908), 77. Wrede says, “It is no great feat to unearth contradictions, even among his [Paul’s] leading thoughts.” See also Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology*.

²⁴ For example, Brevard Childs asks an appropriate question: “Could an imaginative reconstruction of Paul’s opponents as a mirror image to Paul actually serve or blur rather than sharpen Paul’s response to the crisis in Galatia?” Brevard S. Childs, *The Church’s Guide for Reading Paul: The Canonical Shaping of the Pauline Corpus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 19. James Barr, who disagrees with Childs on many conclusions, has, however, also developed “the concept of *story* as a central category for Old Testament exegesis and theology.” According to Barr, “the Old Testament tells acts, events, speeches, thoughts, conversations, and all sorts of varied information, in a highly varied complex. Within this complex, however, certain relations receive particularly clear marking, and one of the clearest is that of temporal sequence. *The narrative material has clear, though uneven, marking of temporal sequence...Theophany, for instance, is particularly characteristic of the earlier story*” [emphasis mine]. James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 345-346. See also Rolf Rendtorff, *Kanon und Theologie: Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991).

²⁵ The use of narrative analysis has seen a growing interest in theological studies in general. See W. A. Kort, *Story, Text, and Scripture: Literary Interests in Biblical Narrative* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988); Stanley Hauerwas and Gregory L. Jones, eds., *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989). It has been a frequently used method in Gospel studies. General introductions to narrative criticism of the Gospels include D. Marguerat and Y. Bourquin, *How to Read Bible Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Criticism* (London: SCM, 1999); M. A. Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); J. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005); D. Rhoads, J. Dewey, and D. Michie, *Mark as a Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999); and Ole Davidsen, *The Narrative Jesus: A Semiotic Reading of Mark’s Gospel* (Copenhagen-Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993). Moreover, on selected readings exercising the narrative approach, see Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History – History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*, WUNT 123 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000 and 2001, and Boston: Brill, 2002); Petri Merenlahti, *Poetics for the Gospels? Rethinking Narrative Criticism* (London: T & T Clark, 2002); Tim Wiarda, *Interpreting Gospel Narratives: Scenes, People, and Theology* (Nashville: B & H Publishing, 2010); and Nicholas G. Piotrowski, *Matthew’s New David at the End of Exile: A Socio-Rhetorical Study of Scriptural Quotations*, NovTSup 170 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

²⁶ Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, the Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), and more recently Richard Hays, “Is Paul’s Gospel Narratable?” *JSNT* 27 (2004): 217-239 and Richard Hays, “Christ Died for the Ungodly: Narrative Soteriology in Paul,” *HBT* 26 (2004): 48-69.

scholars, such as Norman Petersen,²⁷ N. T. Wright,²⁸ Ben Witherington,²⁹ Sylvia Keesmaat,³⁰ Katherine Grieb,³¹ Douglas Campbell,³² Daniel Kirk,³³ and Timo Eskola.³⁴ While this approach has not grown without critical evaluations,³⁵ it has nevertheless had a remarkable influence on Pauline studies over the past thirty years,³⁶ including studies that focus on the relationship between Pauline theology and ethics.³⁷

²⁷ Petersen underscores the place of the narrative world of a text. According to him, the narrative world is “that reality which the narrator bestows upon his actors and upon their actions, a reality into which he authoritatively invites his audience, whether he is telling a fairy tale, a spy story, or a great novelist adventure.” Norman R. Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon, and the Sociology of Paul’s Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 7, 14. Moreover, there are three interpenetrating circles of the narrative world: the narrative world of a single letter, the narrative world of the undisputed Pauline corpus, and the narrative world of all the relevant texts. Ma. Marilou S. Ibita, “The Unity of Paul’s Narrative World in 2 Corinthians 1-7: N. Peterson’s Narrative-Critical Approach and the Coherence of 2 Corinthians,” in *Theologizing in the Corinthian Conflict: Studies in the Exegesis and Theology of 2 Corinthians*, BiTS 16, ed. Reimund Bieringer et al. (Leuven: Brill, 2013), 17-42.

²⁸ N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992); N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, Parts I-IV (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 2014.

²⁹ Witherington states this idea well: “[This] can lead to the assumption that Paul’s thought arises out of, and only in response to, particular situations in his congregations. I would suggest that this is essentially incorrect. The situations Paul addresses cause him to articulate his thoughts in one way or another, but those thoughts have risen as a result of his deep and ongoing reflection on the narrative that molds all of his thoughts.” Ben Witherington, *Paul’s Narrative Thought World: The Tapestry of Tragedy and Triumph* (Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox Press, 1994), 3.

³⁰ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story: (Re)interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, JSNTS 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999). Keesmaat argues that Romans 8 needs to be read in light of the Exodus motif.

³¹ Katherine Grieb, *The Story of Romans: A Narrative Defense of God’s Righteousness* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2002).

³² Douglas Campbell, *The Quest for Paul’s Gospel: A Suggested Strategy*, JSNT Supplement 274 (London: T & T Clark, 2005).

³³ Daniel Kirk, *Jesus Have I Loved, but Paul? A Narrative Approach to the Problem of Pauline Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011).

³⁴ Timo Eskola, *A Narrative Theology of the New Testament: Exploring the Metanarrative of Exile and Restoration*, WUNT 350 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 246-386. Timo Eskola explores the exile and restoration motif as a key to New Testament theology and has a chapter on Paul’s narrative theology.

³⁵ Bruce W. Longenecker, ed., *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002). Longenecker’s opening article describes constructively and clearly the method and history of research of the narrative approach in current Pauline studies up to 2002. Moreover, the articles critically evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of using the narrative approach in Romans and Galatians. See especially Francis Watson, “Is There a Story in These Texts?” in *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment*, ed. B. W. Longenecker (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 231-240; See also Alexandra Brown, “Response to Sylvia Keesmaat and Richard Hays,” *HBT*, vol. 26 No 2 (December 2004): 115-122; Bruce W. Longenecker describes this method in “The Narrative Approach to Paul: An early Retrospective,” *SBR* 1.1 (2002): 88-111.

³⁶ See Greg K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011). Many dissertations also have used this methodology: David J. Southall, *Rediscovering Righteousness in Romans*, WUNT 240 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); Kar Yong Lim, *The Sufferings of Christ Are Abundant in Us: A Narrative Dynamics Investigation of Paul’s Sufferings in 2 Corinthians* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), Corneliu Constantineanu, *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul’s Theology: Narrative Readings in Romans*, LNTS 421 (London: T & T Clark International, 2010), and Valérie Nicolet-Anderson, *Constructing the Self*, WUNT 324 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

³⁷ Stephen Fowl, *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul: An Analysis of the Function of the Hymnic Material in the Pauline Corpus*, JSNTS 36 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). More recently, David Hornell and Corneliu Constantineanu have shown the significance of narrative reading when discussing the relationship of Paul’s theology and ethics. David G. Horrell, “Paul’s Narrative or Narrative Substructure?” in *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Bruce W. Longenecker (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002). David Horrell states, “Paul’s letters are to be seen as reflecting, and contributing to, a narrative myth which constructs a particular symbolic universe, giving

The main theorists for those who approach Paul from the narrative point of view are A. J. Greimas³⁸ and M. J. Toolan.³⁹ Toolan defines a story/narrative as “a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events,”⁴⁰ or “a chronologically-ordered deep structure representation of all the primary and essential information concerning characters, events, and settings.”⁴¹ Drawing from this narrative approach, Hays asks:

What does it mean to claim that a discourse has a “narrative substructure”? Does it make sense to say that a *story* can function as a constraint on the logic of an *argument*? In order for claims such as these to have validity, we must be able to show that there can be a continuity between the language of story and discursive language, that the relationship between the two can be, in at least some cases, organic rather than artificial.⁴²

Furthermore, Hays suggests two concrete steps: “We may first identify within the discourse allusions to the story and seek to discern its general outlines; then in a second phrase of inquiry we may ask how this story shapes the logic argumentation in the discourse.”⁴³ James Dunn distinguishes three different levels of stories regarding the deep substructure of Paul’s theology: (1) inherited convictions or traditional life patterns form Paul’s presuppositions, namely God and creation and the story of Israel; (2) “the sequence of transformative moments in the individual’s (or community’s) growth and development,” including Paul’s own conversion; and (3) the immediate issues that are addressed and responded to in Paul’s letters.⁴⁴ According to Dunn, “The reality of Paul’s theology, then, is the interaction between the different stories or levels which his letters evidence.”⁴⁵

meaning and order to the lives of those who inhabit it. This myth, enacted in ritual, is an identity- and community-forming narrative which shapes both the world-view (the ‘is’) and the ethos (the ‘ought’) of its adherents. . . . This broad framework of interpretation suggests that, at least at a general level, everything in Paul’s letters is potentially relevant to a consideration of his ‘ethics’. If the myth itself—the central story and its symbols and ideas—shapes the ethos and social of the community, then our inquiry cannot be limited only to certain explicitly paraenetic sections of the texts.” David G. Horrell, *Solidarity and Difference: A Contemporary Reading of Paul’s Ethics* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 97-98. Corneliu Constantineanu writes, “I hope to show that a narrative reading of reconciliation alongside the story of Christ will make it possible to bring together these two dimensions of reconciliation in a more holistic, integrative understanding.” Corneliu Constantineanu, *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul’s Theology: Narrative Readings in Romans*, 17.

³⁸ A. J. Greimas, *Du Sens* (Paris: Seuil, 1970).

³⁹ Michael J. Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1988). Cf. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3 vols., trans. K. McLaughlin and D. Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983-85).

⁴⁰ Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*, 7.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁴² Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 20 [emphasis original]. Also republished in Richard Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, 3rd ed. The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁴ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 18. Cf. James Dunn, “The Narrative Approach to Paul: Whose Story?” in *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Bruce W. Longenecker (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2002), 217-230.

⁴⁵ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 18-19. Dunn also states, “The theology of Paul cannot be more than the

Ben Witherington claims that “*all* Paul’s ideas, all his arguments, all his practical advice, all his social arrangements are ultimately grounded in a story, a great deal of which is told in the Hebrew scriptures Paul’s thought . . . is grounded in a grand narrative and in a story that has continued to develop out of that narrative.”⁴⁶ According to Witherington, Paul’s narrative can be dissected into four smaller interrelated stories: (1) the story of a created world that has gone wrong; (2) the story of Israel in that world; (3) the story of Christ; and (4) the story of Christians.⁴⁷ He states, “The narrative approach to Paul may hold some attraction as a model that incorporates within it the apparent inconsistencies in Paul’s discourse even within individual letters, and explains themes of narrative multi-levels or polyvalence.”⁴⁸

In his recent massive four-volume opus, N.T. Wright states, “Over against those who see it [Paul’s reading of Scripture] as atomistic or opportunistic, I follow those who see Paul dealing with the larger scriptural wholes from which he draws particular phrases and sentences, and particularly with the larger scriptural *narratives* which he wants his communities to inhabit for themselves.”⁴⁹ Wright questions commentators who fail to follow Paul’s sequence of thought but “instead treat a Pauline letter as if it were collection of maxims, detached theological statements, plus occasional ‘proofs from scripture’ and the like.”⁵⁰ According to Wright, Paul follows, yet redefines, the framework of second-temple Jewish theology, namely monotheism, election, and eschatology. Wright argues that Paul redefines, not replaces, the one God of Israel, the creator, to include the lordship of the crucified and risen Christ.⁵¹ The elect, the people of God who defined the nation of Israel after the pattern of Adam, find continuity and fulfillment in the Messiah, as his people’s representative. Paul redefines eschatology as the age of the Spirit that comes in two different stages: already inaugurated and not yet consummated.⁵² For Paul, according to Wright, the story of the world that has been created by one God is a story of restoration and redemption.

Narrative methodology in Pauline studies does *not* mean that the sociological and political situation should or can be ignored. Coleman Baker has recently (2011) challenged scholars to integrate sociological and narrative approaches, what he calls *socio-narrative criticism*,⁵³ into

sum of the theology of each of the individual letters for the obvious reason that these letters are the only firm evidence we have of Paul’s theology. . . . At the same time, however, a theology of Paul has to be more.” Ibid., 14-15.

⁴⁶ Witherington, *Paul’s Narrative Thought World*, 2 [emphasis original].

⁴⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁹ Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, Parts I-IV (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 613 [emphasis original].

⁵⁰ Ibid., 610.

⁵¹ Ibid., 619-773.

⁵² Ibid., 1043-1265

⁵³ Coleman A. Baker, “Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative

Pauline studies. On one hand, he acknowledges the importance of sociological approaches such as Esler's; on the other hand, according to Baker, narratives play a pivotal role in identity formation.⁵⁴ "What is needed, therefore, is an approach that will bring together these elements to develop an integrated method for understanding how the narratives of the New Testament helped to form the identity of the early Christ-followers."⁵⁵

I share the concerns of Dunn,⁵⁶ Campbell,⁵⁷ and Constantineanu⁵⁸ about forcing a particular narrative theory or a universal story form as the model for Pauline communication. Such a method could lead to wrong conclusions, because the model may determine the outcome. Rather, we must let the Pauline texts themselves define and apply the characters in the social and political context that Paul is addressing. Moreover, the ethical purpose of narrative is to allow the audience to identify with the characters and events found in the story. The purpose of identification with characters is to influence the recipients in order to transform them.

Despite the challenges in lexicographical studies, the examination of *doxa* can be pursued with integrity when using the narrative approach. This method takes into account the semantic

Criticism," *Currents in Biblical Research* 9 (2011): 228-237; cf. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker, eds., *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (Bloomsbury: T & T Clark, 2014); Coleman A. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011). For the use of this approach in New Testament studies outside of Pauline literature, see Andre van Oudtshoorn, "Every Letter Tells a Story: Mission and Unity at Odds in the Local Church A Socio-Narrative Analysis of 3 John," *Pacifica* 24 (October 2011); Sue-Ann Harding, "'How do I apply narrative theory?': Socio-narrative theory in translation studies," *International Journal on Translation Studies*, vol. 24 Is 2 (2012): 286-309; and B. J. Syiemlieh, *God's Favorites: A Socio-Narrative Analysis of the Characters in the Lukan Infancy Narratives (Luke 1.5-2.52)* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006). This approach needs to be distinguished from the socio-rhetorical approach that combines sociology and rhetoric criticism. See, for example, Ben Witherington, *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians. Volume 1, A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy and 1-3 John* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2006); Ben Witherington, *The Letters to Philemon, The Colossians, and the Ephesians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Captivity Epistles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007); Ben Witherington, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011).

⁵⁴ Esler correctly calls Paul an entrepreneur of identity. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, 109. See also William S. Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity*, LNTS 322 (London: T & T Clark, 2006); Kathy Ehrensperger and J. Brian Tucker, eds., *Reading Paul in Context: Explorations in Identity Formation: Essays in Honour of William S. Campbell*, LNTS 428 (London: T & T Clark, 2010); Klyne R. Snodgrass, "Paul's Focus on Identity," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 168 (July-September 2011): 259-73; and Sergio Rosee Nebreda, *Christ-Identity: A Social-Scientific Reading of Philippians 2.5-11* (Oakville: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011). They do not take a particularly narrative approach, yet they discuss factors concerning identity formation in Paul.

⁵⁵ Baker, "Early Christian Identity Formation," 235.

⁵⁶ Dunn, "The Narrative Approach to Paul," 217-230.

⁵⁷ Campbell states, "it seems wise to sit loosely to any notion definition and to speak of various narrative feature, the possession of a sufficient number of which allows us to recognize narrative elements, or even relatively complete stories, in the broader texture of Paul's thought as revealed in Romans and Galatians. Among those features that suggest narrative is a striking personal dimension conveyed largely by the activity of personal actors, who usually undertake action, often in relation to one another, and to whom events occur. These actions and events often then unfold to create a plot, the latter often also exhibiting a problem-solution structure. Hence stories are especially useful types of texts for giving an account of the behaviour, actions, history, and/or accomplishments, of *people* (or, more strictly, of personal actors)." Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel*, 71.

⁵⁸ Constantineanu, *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul's Theology*, 17-18.

range of the word, various characters and signs that are associated with the word, and the development of the word in light of the context of Paul. My approach combines the lexicographical and narrative pre-understanding that Paul inherited, mainly from the Septuagint, a close reading of given passages, and Paul's appeal to identity formation—often in the context of his confrontation with the cultic environment of imperial emperor worship.⁵⁹ All these function as a window to Paul's narrative worldview in light of *doxa*.

This study explores the *doxa* motif manifested in Pauline thought within the context of the larger meta-narrative. First, because Paul's thought is built on intertextuality, it is pivotal to understand the use of *doxa* language in the Septuagint. The *doxa* motif was abundantly present as one of the substructures in the Jewish Scriptures. These texts need be read from the perspective that Paul draws from the “narrative collection”⁶⁰ of *doxa* he inherited. This study will start, therefore, with an exploration of the definition and the use of *doxa* in the Septuagint. What narrative characters is *doxa* associated with in the Septuagint texts? Indeed, a quick look at the *doxa* reveals a drastic difference between the classical Greek understanding of “opinion, reputation” compared to the Septuagint usage, where *doxa* is associated with many characters and events.⁶¹

Paul uses this collection in order to redefine it and to influence his contemporary audience, in light of the Christ-event, to identify themselves with characters in the story. This study proposes that the Pauline understanding of *doxa* is highly influenced by inherited Jewish writings and Paul's writings need to be read in light of the events and characters that *doxa* is associated with.

Of course, Paul's understanding is not limited to the inherited and technical uses of *doxa*. Therefore, second, we must ask further questions: What does Paul mean in his own context⁶² when using *doxa* in different passages in light of the larger narrative? Who are the characters that are identified with *doxa* in Paul's letters? How does Paul *develop* and *redefine* the narrative and characters that he inherited? In order to construct Paul's developed narrative of *doxa*, this study seeks to conduct a close reading of Paul's *doxa* passages. I will extract the logic of the passages

⁵⁹ For a similar approach to word studies without a specific narrative element, where the term needs to be understood from the context, and consequently may have several nuances, see for example, Aarne Toivanen, *Dikaiošyne-sanue Paavalin kielenkäytössä: eksegeettis-semanticinen tutkimus*, Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja 27 (Helsinki: Suomen Eksegeettinen Seura, 1975).

⁶⁰ Francis Watson prefers “narrative collection” over “narrative substructure” when talking about Paul's understanding of the Gospel. Watson, “Is There a Story in These Texts?” 239.

⁶¹ The difference between the Greek definitions and the use of *doxa* in the Septuagint does not mean that the Greek language outside of the Septuagint would not have had any influence on Paul regarding *doxa*. See especially James R. Harrison, “Paul and the Roman Ideal of Glory in the Epistle to the Romans,” in *The Letter to the Romans*, ed. Udo Schnelle (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 329-369.

⁶² Campbell, *Advances in the Study of Greek*, 75-78; Silva states: “The context does not merely help us understand meaning – it virtually makes meaning.” Silva, *Biblical Words*, 139.

and will determine how the *doxa* motif contributes to the flow and how Paul deliberately makes the audience identify with the characters.

Not only the inherited narrative, but also the reality of the Emperor cult shapes Paul's rhetoric in his letters. As Joseph Hellerman⁶³ and James Harrison⁶⁴ have shown, the language of glory was associated with the Emperor's honor status and the imperial cult system. While Paul's *doxa* motif is not dependent on the socio-political context, an understanding of the political honor system that underpinned the Roman Empire clarifies the setting where Paul writes and addresses the idols that he faces. Therefore, third, we must ask: how does the the Emperor's honor status as glorious affect Paul's usage of *doxa*?

To summarize, the method and the purpose of this research is to answer the following four questions:

- (1) What are the most significant characters and events that are attached to the *doxa* motif in the Jewish Scriptures? Consequently, what kind of narrative substructure, if any, do they form?
- (2) What are the characters and the events that are linked with *doxa*, and how do they relate to one another in Paul's undisputed letters?
- (3) How do the characters and the substructure of the Jewish Scriptures shape the logic of argumentation in passages where Paul mentions *doxa*?
- (4) How does Paul *develop* and *redefine* the narrative *doxa* motif in light of the Christ-event and the contemporary context, namely in the midst of the imperial cult, that he is facing?
- (5) How does Paul want his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify with the narrative characters in the story?

While the first question provides a necessary background for my study, the last four questions guide my research. The purpose of this methodology is to strive for us to comprehend the use of *doxa* in Pauline thought in light of the larger sub-narrative and the characters in the narrative.

1.3. History of Research

Naturally, all the recent New Testament exegetical and theological dictionaries provide an entry-level discussion on *doxa*.⁶⁵ The dictionary articles of Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard von Rad, and

⁶³ Joseph H. Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Cristi as Cursus Pudorum*, SNTS 132 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁶⁴ James Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, WUNT 273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

⁶⁵ For example, *BDAG*, “δόξα”; S. Aalen, “Glory,” in *The New International Dictionary of the New Testament Theology*. H. Hegemann, “δόξα, δοξαζω,” in *Exegetical Dictionary of New Testament* 1:345-349; Carey C. Newman,

Wilhelm Michaelis from 1935 are the earliest noteworthy general studies on *doxa*.⁶⁶ In their pioneering, yet limited discussion, they make several observations regarding *doxa*. According to Michaelis, God's glory is perceived and experienced, rather than seen concretely.⁶⁷ Moreover, Kittel considers δόξα in the LXX to denote the "'divine glory' which reveals the nature of God in creation and in His acts, which fill both heaven and earth."⁶⁸ Glory also describes the presence of God. According to Kittel, "NT usage itself takes a decisive step by using in relation to Christ a word which was used in relation to God."⁶⁹ Furthermore, when humanity is set in a relation to glory, the OT emphasis on sight changes into the NT focus on participation.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, only a few detailed academic studies have been conducted on how Paul uses and understands *doxa* in his epistles. G. H. Boobyerm (1929) and Johannes Schneider (1932) published two smaller studies, but Millard J. Berquist's dissertation "Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul" from 1942 was the first serious specific study on *doxa* in Paul.⁷¹ According to Berquist, while *doxa* is used within the context of scription, honor, and eschatology, "the real meaning of *doxa* is denoting the essential nature of God, God in Christ as redeemer, the believer, and the resurrection body."⁷² Even though Berquist's study was groundbreaking for his era and his conclusions are largely accurate, his study bypasses many significant passages,⁷³ and he overlooks the importance of narrative as a key to the interpretation.

Carey Newman's groundbreaking study in 1992, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, still stands as the most comprehensive work on *doxa* in Pauline thought.⁷⁴ Newman's study is "an investigation

"Glory," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and its Developments* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 1997); Richard Gaffin, "Glory," in *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 2000); and most recently, "δόξα," in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis* (Zondervan, 2014).

⁶⁶ Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard von Rad, "δόξα, δοξάζω," *TWNT* Vol II: 235-258; cf. the English translation: *TDNT* Vol II: 232-255. See also "εἰκόν," *TWNT* Vol II: 378-396 and Wilhelm Michaelis, "ὁράω," *TWNT* Vol V: 315-381.

⁶⁷ Michaelis, "ὁράω," 325-327, 331-332.

⁶⁸ Kittel, "δόξα, δοξάζω," *TDNT* Vol II: 244.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 249-251.

⁷¹ Millard J. Berquist, "Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1942); G. H. Boobyer, "Thanksgiving" and the "Glory of God" in Paul (Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1929); Johannes Schneider, *Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie* (Neutestamentliche Forschungen III, 3; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932), 87-114; cf. Maurice Carraz, *De la souffrance à la gloire: De la doxa dans la pensée paulinienne* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestle, 1964). Charles A. A. Scott notes in 1927 that "the history of the word Glory (δόξα) in the Bible has still to be written. When it is written it will probably be found that, like many other Scriptural expressions, it starts from a conception which is physical or material, something which appeals to the senses, and ends as a conception which is predominantly ethical." Charles A. Anderson Scott, *Christianity According to St Paul* (Cambridge: University Press, 1927), 267-268. Carey Newman starts his examination on *doxa* by quoting Scott.

⁷² Berquist, *Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul*, 91-111.

⁷³ For example, according to Berquist, δόξα occurs only 68 times (instead of 77 times). Berquist, "Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul," 85.

⁷⁴ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*. Cf. Newman, "Glory."

into the tradition-historical background, the Christophanic origin, and the rhetorical implications of Paul's identification of Christ as *doxa*.⁷⁵ He examines in detail the background found in Jewish Scriptures for Paul's use of *doxa*. Furthermore, his thesis on how the theophany found in the Jewish Scriptures functions as a hermeneutical key for Paul's *Christology* is well warranted and argued. Newman summarizes the role of glory in Paul's theology:

(1) Glory plays various positions in the grammar of Paul's theology. Glory can refer to various events in Paul's foundational story (e.g. a past saving manifestation of God; the resurrection and parousia of Christ) or Glory can sign the narrative itself—it is a gospel of Glory. Glory refers to the process of *sosiomorphic* transference and to the *physiomorphic* process of transformation. (2) The functions which Glory plays in Paul's theological grammar were already suggested in the tradition-history of Glory. As was discovered, Glory in the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish writing of the Hellenistic era employed Glory to speak of divine visitations of God on earth, both to judge and to save and to speak of a future age of salvation and transformation. Glory in narrative horizon of the Hebrew Bible, as meditated and mystical-apocalyptic Judaism, when refracted through the prism of Christophany, suggested to Paul his grammatical use of Glory.⁷⁶

According to Newman, Paul's semantic use of *doxa* takes seven ranges of meaning:⁷⁷ (1) "praise,"⁷⁸ (2) "benefit,"⁷⁹ (3) "social status," or "honor,"⁸⁰ (4) "image" or "representation,"⁸¹ (5) "radiance" or "brightness,"⁸² (6) "boasting" or "pride,"⁸³ and (7) "greatness."⁸⁴ He divides the *doxa* usages into three syntactically related categories in relation to God, Christ, and humans.⁸⁵

The strength of Newman's study is a well-warranted diachronic approach to the Old Testament background of *doxa*. Newman focuses on the development of God's divine presence as a *doxa* symbol. Paul's encounter with Christ on the road to Damascus, according to Newman, is then strongly linked to this Old Testament background and is "the interpretative 'origin' of Paul's *doxa*-Christology."⁸⁶ Newman examines well two highly significant texts, 2 Corinthians 3-4 and 1

⁷⁵ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 228-229.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 159-163.

⁷⁸ Rom 1:25; 3:7; 4:20; 9:5; 15:7; 11:36; 16:27; 1 Cor 10:31; 2 Cor 1:3; 4:15; 11:31; Gal 4:20; Phil 1:11; 2:11; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18; cf. Eph 1:3, 6, 12, 14.

⁷⁹ Rom 9:23; 1 Cor 2:7.

⁸⁰ 1 Cor 4:10; 11:15; 2 Cor 6:8; cf. 1 Thess 2:6.

⁸¹ Newman wrongly states 2 Cor 11:7a, 7b, most likely meaning 1 Cor 11:7a, 7b.

⁸² 1 Cor 15:40, 41a, 41b, 41c, 41d.

⁸³ Gal 5:26; Phil 2:3; 3:19 have negative connotations, and Eph 3:13; 1 Thess 2:20 have positive connotations.

⁸⁴ Eph 1:6, 12, 14. "The object of praise is not God's 'revealed presence,' but the 'greatness' of his character."

⁸⁵ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 159, 160-161. Rom 1:23; 2:7; 3:23; 5:2; 6:4; 8:17, 18, 21, 30; 9:3, 23a; 1 Cor 2:8; 15:43; 2 Cor 3:7a, 7b, 8, 9, 10a, 10b, 10c, 18a, 18b, 18c, 4:4, 6, 17; Eph 1:7; 3:16; Phil 3:16; 4:19; Col. 1:11; 27a, 27b, 3:4; 1 Thess 2:12; 2 Thess 1:9, 10; 2:14; 1 Tim 1:11; 3:16; 2 Tim 2:10; Tit 2:13.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 164.

Corinthians 2:8, as “word-on-target” Pauline passages that point to the divine presence regarding *doxa*-Christology.

Whereas this dissertation will build upon Newman’s work, his study has only limited interaction with some passages that are integral to my overall narrative understanding of the *doxa* motif. Even though Newman’s study traces the development of *doxa* in the Old Testament, he bypasses the references to Adam. Such is his focus on the divine presence in Christ that he also overlooks important passages such as Romans 1-3, 5-8, 1 Corinthians 11, and Philippians 2-3, only mentioning them in a few sentences.⁸⁷ Moreover, he omits the conversation on Pauline doxological passages, ethical imperatives, and identity formation in the context of Paul’s contemporary audience. Because of Newman’s focus on Christ-theophany and his omission of certain passages, the development of narrative structures regarding Adam-Israel-Christ-believers in relation to glory, including the eschatological participation of believers in glory, is outside the scope of his study.

Whereas Newman’s study focused on the theophany of God’s glory manifested in Christ, the emphasis of others (championed by Dunn) has solely been on the Adam-glory-Christ association.⁸⁸ According to Dunn, arguing mainly from Romans 1-3, Philippians 2-3 and 1 Corinthians 15, Christ functions merely as the second Adam-glory. Such is Dunn’s emphasis on Adam-glory that he seems to bypass many *doxa* passages that identify Christ with God’s theophany⁸⁹ and how God’s glory is vindicated through Christ.

Richard Gaffin has penned an insightful overview of Paul’s use of *doxa* in his recent article.⁹⁰ According to Gaffin, “Glory terminology provides a window on virtually the whole of his [Paul’s] theology.”⁹¹ Gaffin divides his study into three parts: (1) Christ: The Glory-image of God;⁹² (2) the Gospel-glory of Christ;⁹³ and (3) conformity to the Glory-image of Christ.⁹⁴ Essentially, he examines three major “glory” passages in Paul (2 Cor 3:1-4:6; 1 Cor 11:7; 1 Cor

⁸⁷ Ibid., 158-162, 218.

⁸⁸ J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 101-103; James D. G. Dunn, “Adam in Paul,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 120-135; Jonathan Worthington compares the creation protologies of Paul and Philo, including their Adam-*doxa* motif. Jonathan D. Worthington, *Creation in Paul and Philo: The Beginning and Before*, WUNT 317 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

⁸⁹ See a recent criticism on Dunn: Grant Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁹⁰ Richard Gaffin, “The Glory of God in Paul’s Epistles,” in *The Glory of God*, ed. Christopher Morgan and Robert A. Peterson (Wheaton: Crossway, 2010), 127-152.

⁹¹ Ibid., 127.

⁹² Ibid., 129-132.

⁹³ Ibid., 133-145.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 146-151.

15:42-49) while also making some general comments on many other texts. According to Gaffin, the motif of glory for Paul is “divine preeminently and human derivatively.”

Recently, a new interest regarding *doxa* has risen among Pauline studies. Growing attention is being given to describing Paul’s narrative soteriological participatory aspect as *theosis*. Stephen Finlan’s article reflects Pauline glory passages (Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 15:42-44, 49; 2 Cor 3:18; Phil 3:21; cf. 2 Cor 5:17, 21) in light of *theosis*.⁹⁵ David Litwa concentrates on 2 Corinthians 3:18 in his interaction between glory and *theosis*.⁹⁶ Michael Gorman discusses the glory passages of Romans⁹⁷ and Philippians 2:6-11 regarding *theosis* in Paul.⁹⁸ He summarizes *theosis* in Paul thus: “Theosis is transformative participation in the kenotic, cruciform character of God through Spirit-enabled conformity to the incarnate, crucified, and resurrected/*glorified* Christ.”⁹⁹ Most recently, Ben C. Blackwell examined Romans 8:17-30 and 2 Corinthians 3-5, Philippians 2-3 and 1 Corinthians 15 glory passages in light of *deification* in Irenaeus and Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁰⁰ Their comparative methodology, however, is outside the scope of this dissertation.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, Blackwell and Gorman encourage further study in Pauline scholarship in relation to the letters’ contemporary context and the history of religion with glorification.

Naturally, besides the aforementioned studies, there has been much discussion on single passages where *doxa* language is used. Samuel Byrskog, James Harrison, and Donald Berry have also written regarding *doxa* motif in Romans.¹⁰² According to Byrskog, a narrative substructure,

⁹⁵ Stephen Finlan, “Can we Speak of Theosis in Paul?” in *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Tradition*, ed. Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 68-80.

⁹⁶ M. David Litwa, “2 Corinthians 3:18 and Its Implications for *Theosis*,” *JTI* 2 (2008): 117-34; M. David Silva, *We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul’s Soteriology*, BZNW 187 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

⁹⁷ Gorman, *Becoming the Gospel*, 261-296.

⁹⁸ Michael J. Gorman, *Inhabiting the Cruciform God: Kenosis, Justification, and Theosis in Paul’s Narrative Soteriology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 1-39. See also Michael J. Gorman, “Paul’s Corporate, Cruciform, Missional Theosis in 2 Corinthians,” in ‘*In Christ*’ in Paul, WUNT 384 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 181-208.

⁹⁹ Gorman, *Inhabiting the Cruciform God*, 7 [emphasis mine].

¹⁰⁰ Ben C. Blackwell, *Christosis*, WUNT 314 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

¹⁰¹ Outside of the scope of this study, yet related to its subject, falls also the Lutheran understanding of justification and *theosis* (i.e. the Finnish view) and the doctrine of salvation and glorification under systematic theology. See, for example, Carl Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); James K. Beilby and Paul Rhodes Eddy, *Justification: Five Views* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2011); Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *Salvation as Deification and Justification* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press: Unitas, 2004); and Jordan Cooper, *Christification: A Lutheran Approach to Theosis* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2014). Cf. Hannah Hunt, “Clothed in the Body: The Garment of Flesh and the Garment of Glory in Syrian Religious Anthropology,” in *Studia Patristica* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013): 167-175.

¹⁰² Samuel Byrskog, “Christology and Identity in an Intertextual Perspective: The Glory of Adam in the Narrative Substructure of Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in *Identity Formation in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 1-18; Harrison, “Paul and the Roman Ideal of Glory in the Epistle to the Romans.” See my discussion with him in 2.5; Donald L. Berry, *Glory in Romans and Unified Purpose of God in Redemptive History* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2016). I became aware of Berry’s book at the very end of my dissertation research. My study has been carried out

namely the loss (Romans chapters 1-3) and restoration (chapters 5-8) of God's glory in Adam and through Adam in humanity, can be found. His article is limited, however, to Romans 1-8 alone. Also, while his discussion includes "inter-texts" from the Septuagint and Second Temple Judaism, he completely omits Genesis 1-3. Moreover, some of the related motifs mentioned in this study—especially *image* (εἰκών) — have been examined closely elsewhere.¹⁰³ However, there is no study that examines all the uses of *doxa* language in the undisputed Pauline corpus in light of an undergirding narrative structure that also appeals to the audience's identity formation. This study tries to fill that gap in Pauline research and scholarship.

1.4. Outline of the Study

I could approach this study by examining Paul's letters one by one and observing the similarities, differences, and developments in Paul's thought within his individual epistles. This study, however, approaches the *doxa* motif thematically by examining the characters with which that *doxa* is associated. Subsequently, I ask how these characters relate to one another and to the characters found in the Jewish Scriptures.¹⁰⁴

Of 77 occurrences of *doxa* and its derivatives in the undisputed Pauline letters, in around 70¹⁰⁵ *doxa* is attached to a figure or a character (Appendix 1). This dissertation suggests that *doxa* language is associated with four characters in Paul's writing: (1) God's intrinsic and essential *doxa*; (2) God's derivative *doxa* manifested in Adam and Israel characters; (3) God's intrinsic *and* derived

completely independently from Berry's research. See Appendix 4. See also a recent article on glory in 2 Corinthians: Matthew Y. Emerson and Christopher W. Morgan, "The Glory of God in 2 Corinthians," *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 19 (Fall 2015): 21-39.

¹⁰³ For example, George van Kooten examines Paul's use of *image* in light of Paul's contemporary context. He includes some helpful observations regarding the notion of *doxa*. George H. Van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity*, WUNT 232 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). Stefanie Lorenzen analyzes the meaning of εἰκών and its semantic cognates in the Wisdom of Solomon, the texts of Philo of Alexandria, and Paul. Stefanie Lorenzen, *Das Paulinische Eikon-Konzept: Semantische Analysen zur Sapientia Salomonis, zu Philo und den Paulusbriefen*, WUNT II/250 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

¹⁰⁴ Räisänen's groundbreaking study *Paul and the Law* has a similar thematic approach. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*. See also Jonathan Worthington, *Creation in Paul and Philo: The Beginning and Before*, WUNT 317 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

¹⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that not all the occurrences of *doxa* in Paul (or the Septuagint) contribute to this story. While the majority of the *doxa* passages found in Paul are linked to characters in the narrative, there are at least five passages in which *doxa* simply means *honor* without any direct associations to the overall thesis that I argue (1 Cor 4:10, 12:26; 2 Cor 6:8; 1 Thess 2:6, 20). Even here, there is, however, an intentional play on words in the comparison of "to seek glory from men" (1 Thess 2:6) and God calling the Thessalonians to "his own kingdom and glory" (1 Thess 2:12). See my later conversation on the topic. In three of these passages *doxa* is contrasted with negative terms: disrepute (1 Cor 4:10), suffering (1 Cor 12:26), and dishonor (2 Cor 6:8). These occurrences support Barr's point that lexical studies need to be done by carefully analyzing detail without simply giving a technical definition for all occurrences.

doxa manifested in Christ; (4) God's derivative *doxa* in believers, Jews and Gentiles alike, is manifested in their identity and transformation into the likeness of Christ's *doxa*. This study, thus, examines the texts in light of these four characters in their original context.

In chapter two I provide a background for the Pauline use of *doxa*. The purpose of this chapter is to explore both the semantic range of *doxa* and the characters in the narrative that Paul inherited from the Septuagint. I will also take account of the use of *doxa* language in other Jewish writings and Greco-Roman literature.

Chapter three examines Paul's use of *doxa* in reference to humanity's and Israel's image of God. I will investigate three *doxa* passages: Romans 1-3 and 1 Corinthians 11:3-11; 15:30-50 and explore how the logic of the discourse contributes to Paul's narrative structure of *doxa*. While the main character in the narrative is God's *intrinsic* character and nature as *doxa*, I contend that in Paul, God's *derivative glory* is manifested in Adam and Israel as God's representatives. According to Paul, God's glory is profaned among creation due to the sin and idolatry of Adam and Israel (and Paul's audience), and consequently raises a need for God's character to be vindicated.

In chapter four I examine seven *doxa* passages (1 Cor 2:6-8; 1 Cor 15:42-49; 2 Cor 1-4; Rom 5-8; Rom 9; Rom 15:1-13; Phil 2-3) that relate to the crucified and resurrected Christ as the *doxa* character. Christ is the Lord of glory *and* the second Adam and the embodied Israel's Servant. This chapter suggests that God's glory is being vindicated through Christ, who is the faithful representation of the *doxa* of God and thus fulfills the eschatological Servant figure promises.

I will also explore how believers are transformed into the likeness of Christ's image and *doxa* is part of Paul's redemption narrative. The eschatological transformation of humanity, including Israel and all other nations, is involved in this renovation into the image and glory of Christ. This study suggests that the vindication of God's *intrinsic doxa* and the transformation of God's people into God's derivative *doxa* through Jesus Christ form the Pauline narrative substructure that is a development of a Septuagintal narrative and Septuagintal characters.

Chapter five is divided into two parts. The first part examines four of the doxologies of Paul that mention *doxa* (Gal 1:3-5; Phil 4:19-20; Rom 11:34-36; 16:25-27). Paul inherited the form of his doxologies from the Jewish Scriptures, highlighting the essential identity of the character of the *doxa* of God. Moreover, believers are urged to give *doxa* to God as their response to the Christ-event that identifies and restores them to the image and *doxa* of Christ.

The latter part of the chapter investigates passages that relate *doxa* with the ethical implications in the narrative of the Christ-followers. Paul's intention is to let this narrative shape

the communities that he influenced.¹⁰⁶ Not only the decisive change in humanity itself, caused by a new creation, but also the renewed attitudes result in ethical behaviors in this restored humanity, bringing the *doxa* back to God. Practical behavior such as eating, drinking, having appropriate sexual relationships, practicing submission, and giving generously are the implications of glorifying God. For Paul, such ethical applications are grounded in the ultimate purpose of humanity found in Christ, reflecting God's glory in humanity.

Chapter six will conclude this study by giving a summary of the dissertation and providing a number of insights how this study has advanced Pauline scholarship regarding the *doxa* motif.

¹⁰⁶ Stanley Hauerwas and David Burrell, "From System to Story: An Alternative Pattern for Rationality in Ethics," in *Why Narrative Readings in Narrative Theology?* ed. Stanley Hauerwas and Gregory L. Jones (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 158-190; Sylvia C. Keesmat, "Crucified Lord or Conquering Savior: Whose Story of Salvation," *HBT* vol 26 no. 2 (December 2004): 69-93.

2. BACKGROUND: *DOXA* IN JEWISH AND GRECO-ROMAN TEXTS

“They are Israelites, and to them belong ...the glory.”¹⁰⁷

-Apostle Paul

2.1. Introduction

Paul states in Romans 9:4 that the Israelites had received *doxa* in the past. Because Paul’s understanding of *doxa* is not an idea that originated in his own writings, we must pursue—before exploring Paul’s own texts—our study with the literature and context that would have influenced him most.

Like any other New Testament author, Paul did not write in a vacuum. He was highly influenced by his historical and religious past and by his own contemporary culture. He wrote as a Jew who had become a Christ-follower. His intellectual inheritance came from the Jewish tradition.¹⁰⁸ He was trained as a Pharisee; therefore he knew the Jewish writings well. Consequently, his language and theology had a Jewish vocabulary and flavour. Because Paul received the Jewish Scriptures as a collection of writings,¹⁰⁹ he was greatly influenced by both the semantic range of *doxa* and the concepts attached to the *doxa* motif in this collection.

Paul, however, did not live only within his own Jewish heritage, but also amidst the Greco-Roman world. The churches that he started and with which he interacted were composed of both Jewish and Gentiles. He conceived of himself primarily as the apostle to the “nations.” Thus, his use of language is a reflection of and reaction to the Greco-Roman culture. Moreover, even though his theological paradigms are often rooted in the Jewish Scriptures, he interacts with his contemporary audience to make his interpretations understandable and appealing to them.

Thus, my task in this chapter is to explore the semantic range of *doxa* and how it is used in the writings of the Jewish Scriptures, especially in the Septuagint, in other Second Temple Jewish literature, and in the contemporary Greco-Roman culture. In particular, this study is interested in exploring how *doxa* is attached to certain characters, events, and trajectories.

¹⁰⁷ Rom 9:4.

¹⁰⁸ For the most recent scholarship on this subject, see Lioner Windsor, *Paul and the Vocation of Israel: How Paul’s Jewish Identity Informs his Apostolic Ministry, with Special Reference to Romans* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

¹⁰⁹ I do not mean that Paul had a single codex of Old Testament Hebrew writings or the Septuagint. Such a codex probably did not exist until later. I mean that he *read* them as a collection of writings. See Christopher Stanley, “‘Pearls before Swine’: Did Paul’s Audience Understand his Biblical Quotations?” *NovT* 41 (1999): 124-44.

2.2. The Semantic Range of *Doxa* in the Septuagint

Doxa and its derivatives are widely used in the Septuagint: they occur altogether 451 times as the noun δόξα,¹¹⁰ 69 times as an adjective ἔνδοξος,¹¹¹ 146 times as a verbal conjugate δοξάζω,¹¹² 11 times as a verbal form ἐνδοξάζομαι,¹¹³ 18 times as an adverb ἐνδόξως,¹¹⁴ and twice as a related noun δόξασμα.¹¹⁵

The semantic range of δόξα (derived from δοκεῖν) and its derivatives is significant in classical writings and the Septuagint. Liddell and Scott list the following meanings found in classical writings: a notion, expectation, opinion, judgment, conjecture, estimation, reputation, credit, honor, glory and external appearance, splendor, effulgence.¹¹⁶ Sometimes the word is used

¹¹⁰ These statistics are based on the Logos software search: Gen 31:1, 16; 45:13; Exod 15:7, 11; 16:7, 10; 24:16f; 28:2, 40; 29:43; 33:5, 18f, 22; 40:34f; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 12:8; 14:10, 21f; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; 23:22; 24:8, 11; 27:20; Deut 5:24; Jos 7:19; 1 Sam 2:8; 4:22; 6:5; 1 Kgs 3:13; 8:11; 1 Chr 16:27ff; 22:5; 29:12, 25, 28; 2 Chr 1:11f; 2:5; 3:6; 5:13f; 7:1ff; 17:5; 18:1; 26:18; 30:8; 32:27, 33; 1 Es 1:31; 4:17, 59; 5:58; 6:9; 8:4; 9:8; Neh 9:5; Est 1:4; 4:17; 5:1f, 11; 6:3; 10:2; Jdt 9:8; Tob 3:16; 12:15; 13:16; Tbs 3:16; 12:12, 15; 13:17; 1 Ma 1:40; 2:9, 12, 51, 62; 3:3; 9:10; 10:58, 60, 64, 86; 11:6, 42; 12:12; 14:4f, 9f, 21, 29, 35, 39; 15:9, 32, 36; 2 Ma 2:8; 3:26; 4:15; 5:16, 20; 6:11; 14:7; 15:2, 13; 3 Ma 2:9, 14, 16; 6:28; 7:21; 4 Ma 1:12; 5:18; 6:18; 7:9; 18:24; Ps 3:4; 7:6; 8:6; 16:15; 18:2; 20:6; 23:7ff; 25:8; 28:1ff, 9; 29:13; 44:14; 48:15, 17f; 56:6, 9, 12; 61:8; 62:3; 65:2; 67:35; 70:8; 71:19; 72:24; 78:9; 83:12; 84:10; 95:3, 7f; 96:6; 101:16f; 103:31; 105:20; 107:2, 6; 111:3, 9; 112:4; 113:9; 137:5; 144:5, 11f; 149:5, 9; Odes 1:7, 11; 3:8; 5:10; 7:43; 8:52f; 12:5, 15; 13:32; 14:1, 9, 28; Prov 3:16, 35; 8:18; 11:16; 14:28; 15:33; 18:11f; 20:3, 29; 21:21; 22:4; 25:2; 26:8, 11; 28:12; 29:23; Eccl 6:2; 10:1; Job 19:9; 29:20; 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Wis 7:25; 8:10; 9:10f; 10:14; 15:9; 18:24; Sir 1:11, 19; 3:10f; 4:13, 21; 5:13; 6:29, 31; 7:4; 8:14; 9:11; 10:5; 11:4; 14:27; 17:13; 20:11; 24:16f; 27:8; 29:6, 27; 33:23; 35:12; 36:13; 40:27; 42:16f, 25; 43:1, 9, 12; 44:2, 13, 19; 45:2f, 7, 20, 23, 26; 47:6, 8, 11, 20; 49:5, 8, 12; 50:7, 11, 13; 51:17; Ps. Sol 1:4; 2:5, 19, 21, 31; 5:19; 11:6ff; 17:6, 31; Hos 4:7; 9:11; 10:5; Mic 1:15; 5:3; Hab 2:14, 16; Hag 2:3, 7, 9; Zech 2:9, 12; Mal 1:6; 2:2; Is 2:10, 19, 21; 3:8, 18, 20; 4:2, 5; 6:1, 3; 8:7; 10:3, 12, 16; 11:3; 12:2; 14:11; 16:14; 17:3f; 20:5; 21:16; 22:22f, 25; 24:14f; 26:10; 28:1, 4f; 30:18, 27, 30; 33:17; 35:2; 40:5f, 26; 42:8, 12; 43:7; 45:24; 48:11; 52:1, 14; 53:2; 58:8; 60:1f, 13, 19, 21; 61:3; 62:2; 63:12, 14f; 64:10; 66:11f, 18f; Jer 2:11; 13:11, 16, 18, 20; 14:21; 17:12; 23:9; 31:11, 18; Bar 2:17f; 4:3, 24, 37; 5:1f, 4, 6f, 9; Lam 2:11, 15; Ezek 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 9:3; 10:4, 18f, 22; 11:22f; 27:7, 10; 39:21; 43:2, 4f; 44:4; Dan 2:37; 3:43, 52f; 4:29ff, 34, 36; 7:14; 11:20f, 39; 12:13; Dat 3:43, 52f; 4:30; 5:18; 10:8; 11:20f, 39.

¹¹¹ 1 Sam 9:6; 18:23; 22:14; 2 Sam 23:19, 23; 1 Chr 4:9; 11:21, 25; 2 Chr 2:8; Est 1:1; Jdt 16:13, 21; 1 Macc 2:17; 6:1; Odes 7:45; Sir 10:22; Pss. Sol. 18:10; Is 13:19; 22:24; 32:2; Dan 3:45; 6:1, 4; Bet 1:2.

¹¹² Exod 15:1f, 6, 11, 21; 34:29f, 35; Lev 10:3; Deut 33:16; Jda 9:9; 13:17; Jdg 9:9; 13:17; 1 Sam 2:29f; 15:30; 2 Sam 6:20, 22; 10:3; 1 Chr 17:18; 19:3; 1 Es 8:25, 64, 78; 9:52; Ezra 7:27; 8:36; Est 3:1; 4:17; 6:6f, 9, 11; 10:3; Jdt 12:13; 1 Macc 2:18, 64; 3:14; 5:63; 10:65, 88; 11:42, 51; 14:15, 29, 39; 15:9; 2 Macc 3:2; 4:24; 3 Macc 6:18; 4 Macc 18:13; Ps 14:4; 21:24; 36:20; 49:15, 23; 85:9, 12; 86:3; 90:15; Odes 1:1f, 6, 11; 7:26; 14:35; Prov 13:18; Wis 8:3; 18:8; 19:22; Sir 3:2, 4, 6, 10, 20; 7:27, 31; 10:23f, 26ff; 24:12; 25:5; 35:7; 36:5; 43:28, 30; 44:7; 45:3; 46:2, 12; 47:6; 48:4, 6; 49:16; 50:5, 11; Ps. Sol. 10:7; 17:5, 30f; Mal 1:6, 11; Is 4:2; 5:16; 10:15; 24:23; 25:1; 33:10; 42:10; 43:4, 23; 44:23; 49:3, 5; 52:13; 55:5; 60:7, 13; 66:5; Lam 1:8; 5:12; Ezek 39:13; Dan 1:20; 2:6; 3:26, 51, 55f; Dat 3:26, 51, 56; 4:34, 37; 5:23; 11:38.

¹¹³ Exod 14:4, 17f; 33:16; 2 Kgs 14:10; Ps 88:8; Sir 38:6; Hag 1:8; Is 45:25; Ezek 28:22; 38:23.

¹¹⁴ Exod 15:1, 21; Tob 12:7, 11; 14:11, 13; Tbs 12:11; 14:2, 11, 14; 1 Macc 11:60; 12:8, 43; 14:23, 40; Odes 1:1; Dan 4:37.

¹¹⁵ Is 46:13; Lam 2:1.

¹¹⁶ H.G. Liddell, “δόξα,” in *A Lexicon: Abridged from Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon*. Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, Inc., 1996. Cf. John Collins, “δόξα,” in *NIDOTE* 2:2577-87; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 175. For example, see Pindar, *Ol.* 6:82-84.

negatively; for example, Homer uses the word at least twice to mean “contrary to expectation.”¹¹⁷ Moreover, *doxa* can denote “reputation,” either good¹¹⁸ or bad.¹¹⁹

In the Septuagint,¹²⁰ the translators chose to use *doxa* and its derivatives to communicate quite different concepts.¹²¹ Understandably, there is much scholarship regarding the language of glory in the Jewish Scriptures. All the main exegetical and theological dictionaries engage in conversation with the word *kabod* and *doxa* in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint. More recently,¹²²

¹¹⁷ *Il.* 10.324; *Od.* 11.344.

¹¹⁸ Polybius 23.11.3.

¹¹⁹ Polybius 15.22.3.

¹²⁰ For general issues in Septuagint translation theory, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, rev. and exp. ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 2007); Mogens Müller, ed., *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint, The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Melvin K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series (SBL, 2013).

¹²¹ Newman discourses briefly on the history of research regarding the use of δόξα in the Septuagint. According to Newman, a δόξα-researcher needs to solve the problem of the apparent discontinuity of δόξα in the Greek language from Greek use to Septuagint use of it and “a need for intelligibility” and understandability of the term for Greek-speaking readers. In other words, did δόξα in the Septuagint have more of a Hebrew or Greek understanding? According to Kittel and E. F. Harrison, δόξα and כבוד, the most common Hebrew word from which it has been translated, do not share the same semantic meaning with one exception: “honor.” Furthermore, the translators systematically translated it into δόξα solely to cover the definitions of כבוד; consequently, the meaning of δόξα was altered decisively and dramatically from the original one. James Barr criticized such a method in theological interpretation because many words become too theologically loaded and lose their meaning in their original context. To him, the translators started using δόξα for three reasons that as a combination made the choice feasible: (1) δόξα translates כבוד because they both can bear the sense of “honor” (and possibly even “royal splendor”); (2) δόξα translates כבוד, though not bearing exactly the same meaning; both words appear in the context of philosophical-theological discussion concerning ‘heavenly ascents’ and ‘dream-vision’ reports; (3) δόξα translates כבוד because both words possess a structural similarity (i.e. subjective-objective fields of meaning). Newman also shows that the semantic field of δόξα in Greek literature included “epiphany” and “light” terminologies. The translators chose δόξα, according to Newman, over more direct terms, such as ἐπιφάνεια or φαντασία, to prevent confusion between manifestations of pagan deities and the revelation of the Lord. Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 134-153.

¹²² The older studies were linguistic-semantic, cultural-historical, or theologically oriented. For a good list in each category, see Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 25-27. Cf. J. Morgenstern, “Biblical Theophanies,” *ZA* 25 (1911), 139-140. See also August von Gall, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes* (Giesen: Ricker, 1900); Bernhard Stein, *Der Begriff Kabod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotterkenntnis* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1939), 64-69.

Newman,¹²³ Longman,¹²⁴ and Harrison,¹²⁵ among others,¹²⁶ have generated helpful studies regarding the glory-motif in the Old Testament. For example, Longman sums up his observations with the following six points: 1) the non-theological use of *kabod* gives a helpful background for the theological use; 2) God's weighty presence is associated with fire, smoke, and a cloud; 3) the glory of God is often revealed in judgment; 4) God's glory elicits praise from people; 5) God's glory is associated with objects that represent his presence; and 6) sinful people have a tendency to give glory to other deities and people, including themselves, instead of to the true God.¹²⁷

¹²³ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 24-75. According to Newman, δόξα κυρίου is systematically associated with *movement* or *appearance* terminology. The phrase is linked with the visible and mobile places where the Lord and his people are present. He traces diachronically the historical development of the δόξα κυρίου tradition in the history of Israel. Newman summarizes the glory tradition in four distinct construals: 1) theophany; 2) Sinaitic; 3) royal; and 4) prophetic. Newman traces the development of the כבוד tradition as follows. In the early phase כבוד was mainly associated with "divine presence," which was initiated in the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness experiences of Israel and preserved by the priestly tradition. The goal of the Lord's revelation, theophany, at Sinai (Exod 24:15b-25:1) was to build a holy place, namely a tabernacle, for the Lord's כבוד. The following appearances of כבוד in the wilderness talk about the seriousness of sin. Also a new place for worship was established through כבוד. The Lord's presence in the midst of His people was to cause respect, fear, and worship among the people. During the royal reign the כבוד tradition was "crystallized" to mean a positive term that spoke of the Lord's as well as his people's kingship over all life, including creation and worship. During the epoch of the prophets, besides playing a role in their calling, the כבוד tradition developed to connote on the one hand divine judgment and on the other hand a "kerygma of hope." The judgment as well as the hope was directed to his own people but also to the pagan nations. Newman's analysis of the word continues also throughout the apocalyptic and rabbinic period.

¹²⁴ Tremper Longman III, "The Glory of God in the Old Testament," in *The Glory of God*, 47-78.

¹²⁵ James Harrison summarizes δόξα in the Septuagint under four headings: (1) the "Israelites' experience of divine theophany, particularly in Sinai; (2) the tabernacle and the Temple; (3) the rule of God as king over Israel and the world; and (4) the eschatological prophetic hope. Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*. Cf. Pieter de Vries, *De heerlijkheid van JHWH in het Oude Testament en in het bijzonder in het boek Ezechiël* (Heerenveen: Groen, 2010); and Pieter de Vries, "The Glory of YHWH in the Old Testament with Special Attention to the Book of Ezekiel," *Tyndal Bulletin* 62.1 (Jan 2011): 151-154. Cf. Pieter de Vries, "The Relationship between the Glory of YHWH and the Spirit of YHWH in the Book of Ezekiel," *Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research*, vol 5 (2013): 109-127; Pieter de Vries, "Ezekiel: Prophet of the Name and Glory of YHWH – the Character of His Book and Several of Its Main Themes," *Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research*, vol 4 (2012): 94-108, esp. 105-106; Daniel Y. Wu, *Honor, Shame, and Guilt: Social-Scientific Approaches to the Book of Ezekiel*, Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements 14 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016).

¹²⁶ For such studies, see, for example, Steffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*, Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series 57 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009); Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, eds. *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Atlanta: SBL, 2006); Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*. According to Elipidus Pax, Alan Segal, and John S. Hanson, in everyday language and philosophical discussions δόξα was used in connection with "heavenly ascent" and "a dream vision." Elpidus Pax, "Ex Parmenide ad Septuaginta: De notion vocabuli," *Verbum Domini* 38 (1960): 92-102. Alan Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity, and Their Environment," *ANRW* 23:2, ed. H. Trampolini and W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 1344-45; John S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* 23:2, 1395-1427. F. Decreus claims that δόξα and כבוד can both be used in subjective and objective senses. F. Decreus, "Doxa-kabod: Schematische Transposite of strukturgelijkheid?" *Sacris Erudiri: Jarrboekvoor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 22 (1974/1975): 117-95.

¹²⁷ Longman III, "The Glory of God in the Old Testament," 77-78.

2.2.1. The Translation of *Kabod* in the Septuagint

While there are twenty-nine Hebrew words translated as *doxa* in the Septuagint, the most common word is *kabod*. The root *kabod* with its derivatives occurs 376 times in the Hebrew Bible.¹²⁸ To begin with, *kabod* means something that is, either literally or figuratively, heavy, weighty or abundant.¹²⁹ More often, the heaviness or weightiness is figurative.¹³⁰

The figurative use is not limited to the neutral range. Indeed, *kabod* usually refers to a negative idea regarding the unresponsiveness of a body part or the severity or size of a negative event or experience.¹³¹ In all these passages, *kabod* is rendered other than *doxa*. For example, Pharaoh's heart is hardened/weighed down (כָּבֵד; Ex 7:14; 8:15 [8:11 in BHU], 28; 9:7, 34; 10:1; cf. 1 Sam 6:6). The Septuagint does not translate *kabod* as *doxa* in these cases, but uses three other verbs: βαρέω, βαρύνω, σκληρύνω.¹³² Similarly, many negative events and experiences are expressed as being severe or hard by using *kabod*. The translators use words such as ἐνισχύω, ἰσχυρός, βαρύνω, βαρύς, μέγας, and πολὺς when denoting negative events or experiences. They do not use *doxa* for these purposes.

The third semantic field for *kabod* is rather positive. This usage includes being “heavy” in terms of earthly possessions (Gen 13:2; πλούσιος in LXX; Prov 12:9 τιμὴ in LXX; Ezek 27:25 βαρύνω in LXX), giving honor to other people (e.g. Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; τιμάω in LXX Ps 15:4 δοξάζω; 1 Sam 2:29 δοξάζω in LXX; 1 Sam 9:6 ἑνδοξος in LXX; 2 Sam 23:23 ἑνδοξος in LXX; Gen 34:19 ἑνδοξος in LXX), and giving honor to the Lord. Notably, the Septuagint translates כָּבֵד into τιμάω and δοξάζω only when the context indicates honoring someone, whether the honoree is

¹²⁸ Oswalt, “כָּבֵד,” in *TWOT*, 943.

¹²⁹ Weinfeld, “כָּבֵד,” in *TDOT*. For example, heaviness is literal in the case of Moses's hands, which were heavy or tired (Exod 17:12 כָּבֵד / βαρύς in LXX); in the case of Eli, who was fat (1 Sam 4:18 כָּבֵד / βαρύς in LXX); and in the case of Absalom's hair, which was heavy (2 Sam 14:26 כָּבֵד / καταβαρύνω in LXX). See also Collins, “כָּבֵד,” in *NIDOTE* 2:577-87 and Oswalt, “כָּבֵד,” (though they do not give Moses as an example); see also J. Tigey, “‘Heavy of Mouth’ and ‘Heavy of Tongue’: On Moses' Speech Difficulty,” *BASOR* 231 (1978): 57-67.

¹³⁰ Collins mentions the following examples as neutral uses of figurative heaviness: a yoke as a labor can be heavy (1 Kgs 12:4, 10, 11, 14; 2 Chr 10:4, 10, 11, 14; Is 47:6; βαρύς or βαρύνω in LXX); a rock can be heavy (Is 32:2 LXX omits rock and translates heavy rock as ἑνδοξος); a chain can be heavy (Lam 3:7 βαρύνω in LXX); God's hand be heavy (1 Sam 5:6; Ps 32:4 βαρύνω in LXX); and a human hand can be heavy (Judg 1:35 βαρύνω in LXX).¹³⁰ Noticeably, when *kabod* communicates a neutral concrete or figurative meaning, the LXX has a strong tendency (with one exception that I found) not to translate it as *doxa*, but almost always as βαρύς or its conjugates. Collins, “כָּבֵד,” in *NIDOTE* 2:577-87.

¹³¹ Collins, “כָּבֵד,” in *NIDOTE* 2:577-87 and Oswalt, “כָּבֵד,” in *TWOT*, 943.

¹³² Interestingly, in Romans 9 Paul uses Pharaoh as an example to make God's own *doxa* visible. Could Paul have been intentionally contrasting Pharaoh's hardened heart with God's heart? If this was the case, Paul was here following the Hebrew text, rather than the Septuagint.

another person or God. In other words, usually when *doxa* is the translation,¹³³ it has a positive connotation regarding the honor of another.

Because translators used more than twenty other Greek words, it is too simplistic to equate *doxa* with *kabod*. There is, however, a significant, though not all-inclusive, consistency regarding the translation of *kabod* into Greek.¹³⁴ Even though *kabod* can take a neutral, negative, or positive meaning in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint translators tend to use *doxa* when the context demands the positive meaning, namely, *honor*.

2.2.2. Other Hebrew Words Translated into *Doxa* in the Septuagint

Not only *kabod* but also other Hebrew words were translated *doxa* in the Septuagint.¹³⁵ In fact, there are at least twenty-nine different Hebrew words (nouns or verbs) that were translated as *doxa* or its conjugates.¹³⁶

A cursory study of the words used to translate *doxa* in their contexts gives us the following semantic range. First, there are a couple of words that express the idea of *separateness or holiness of the Lord* (קִדְּשׁ and פִּלְגָּה). Second, five words express *the aesthetic beauty of a physical or material ornament* (תְּפָאֲרֶת, הָדָר, טוֹב, פָּאָר, נֶפֶץ). They are also sometimes attached as an attribute of the Lord

¹³³ Of the 200 noun occurrences of *kabod* in the Hebrew Bible, 181 times it is translated as δόξα. There are, nevertheless, at least nineteen times when the noun כְּבוֹד is translated other than δόξα: ἥπαρ (liver, inner being) in Genesis 49:6. This is because a close Hebrew cognate word for a liver is כֶּבֶד. It frequently refers to a place of positive and negative emotions. (Collins, *NIDOTE*, 2:577-87); τιμή in Exod 28:2, 40, Is 11:10; 14:18, and Prov 25:27; 26:1; γλῶσσα (tongue) in Ps 15:9 (LXX; cf. Ps 29:13 LXX); κιβωτός (ark, covenant, chest, boat) in 1 Sam 4:21; πλοῦτος (wealth, abundance, honor) in Is 61:1, 6; βαρυκαρδίας (my glory turned into shame) in Ps 4:3; Βαρύνω (to make heavy) in Nah 2:10; καλός (beautiful, handsome, good) in Is 22:18; κύριος (lord, owner) in Is 5:13; and στρωννύω/στρώννυμι (spread in part. form) in Ezek 23:41. In addition, on three occasions כְּבוֹד is not translated at all (Is 10:18; Ezek 31:18; Ps 66:2). Again, we can see that on the occasions when *doxa* is not used, the context of כְּבוֹד refers to something else other than honor.

¹³⁴ Whenever used in a profane non-theocentric sense to talk about a concrete or figurative idea, the translators typically chose *not* to use *doxa*. Because the semantic range of *kabod* includes literal and figurative heaviness, the unresponsiveness of a human organ, the heaviness of a negative event or experience, and a description of the honor of a person and the Lord, including the temple of the Lord, it is indeed not surprising to see a variety of Greek words used in the Septuagint. Indeed not less than twenty-one different Greek words are used to translate *kabod* and its derivatives in the Septuagint. At least the following words are also used to translate *kabod*: ισχνόφωνος, βραδύγλωσσος, βαρέω, βαρύνω, καταβαρύνω, σκληρύνω, ενισχύω, ισχυρός, βαρύς, μέγας, πολύς, ἥπαρ, τιμή, τιμάω, γλῶσσα, κιβωτός, πλοῦτος, βαρυκαρδίας, καλός, κύριος, στρωννύω/στρώννυμι. Dohmen counts 23 equivalents used by the LXX.

¹³⁵ Gen 31:16; Ex 15:7, 11a, 28:2, 40; 33:16, 19; 34:29, 30a, 35; Num 12:8; 23:22; 24:8; 27:20; 1 Chr 2:5; 16:27, 27; 2 Chr 2:5; 5:13; Job 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Ps 17:15; 21:6; 149:9; Is 2:10, 19, 21; 5:16; 6:1; 11:3; 22:22; 24:14, 15; 26:10; 28:5; 30:30; 40:6, 26; 45:25; 46:13; 49:3; 52:1, 13, 14; 53:2; 55:5; 60:7, 9, 19; 61:3; 63:12; 64:10; Jer 13:18; 23:9; Lam 2:1, 15; Ezek 10:22; 38:23. The list is partly adopted from Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 142, note 29. However, Newman mistakenly has 1 Chronicles 16:24 rather than 16:27, and he also misses 1 Chronicles 2:5, where the LXX adds δόξα.

¹³⁶ Henton Davis records that “no fewer than twenty-five Hebrew words are rendered by *doxa* in the LXX.” Davies, “glory,” in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Newman's analysis is based on the LXX concordance, which states that “some twenty-four different Hebrew words are rendered by *doxa*.” Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* 2 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897-1906), 1:341-43. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 142-143.

31:1, 16 LXX NETS), and “Report to my father all my *glory* [τὴν δόξαν μου] in Egypt and how much you have seen and make haste” (Gen 45:13 LXX NETS). Additionally, a Psalmist pens, “*Glory and riches* [δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος] are in his house, and his righteousness endures forever and ever” (Ps 111:1-3 LXX NETS). We can see that the psalm-writer equates δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος together as a description of material well-being. A similar logic is found in Proverbs: “Longevity and years of life are in her right hand, and in her left hand are riches and repute [πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα]” (Prov 3:16 LXX NETS; cf. Prov 18:1; 22:4).

The second way that *doxa* is used independently from any reference to the Lord is that in a few instances *the beauty of a person* is depicted by *doxa*.¹³⁸ For example, “of a King’s daughter—all her beauty [or beautiful appearance; ἡ δόξα] is within, decked out golden tassels, in many colors” (Ps 44:14 LXX NETS) and “to those who mourn for Sion be given glory [δόξαν] instead of ashes, oil of joy to those who mourn, a garment of glory [δόξης] instead of a spirit of weariness. They will be called generations of righteousness, a plant of the Lord for glory” [κυρίου εἰς δόξαν] (Is 61:3 LXX NETS).

Third, *doxa* is sometimes used to describe the *spectacular appearance of the nations*, often before their downfall: Babylon (ἔνδοξος of kingdoms; Is 13:19); Moab (the δόξα of Moab will be dishonored; Is 16:14); Jacob (Is 17:4); Kedar (all the δόξα of Kedar will come to an end; Is 21:16); Tyre (pride of all glory; Is 23:9);¹³⁹ Lebanon¹⁴⁰ (ἡ δόξα of Lebanon will be given to it; Is 35:2).¹⁴¹

Finally, *doxa* is a direct reference to *a person’s honor that is a consequence of a positive reputation*. For example, *doxa* refers to Moses’s authority and power to lead and shepherd the people of Israel to the Promised Land (Num 27:12-23). Moreover, “You [Moses] shall give over some of your glory [τῆς δόξης / τῆ] upon him [Joshua], so that the sons of Israel would listen to him” (Num 27:20 LXX NETS). Similarly, the servant of Saul references Samuel as a man of *doxa* in 1 Samuel 9:6 because of his positive character and reputation (cf. 1 Sam 2:29). “Behold, now a man of God is in this town, and the man is held in honor [ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔνδοξος]; anything, whatever he says, when it comes, it will happen” (1 Reigns LXX NETS). In Proverbs *doxa* alludes to a person’s honor that is sometimes gained through humility and wisdom (e.g. Prov 3:35; 11:16; 14:28; 15:33; 18:12; 20:3, 9; 21:21; 25:2; 28:12; 29:23; cf. Ps 14:4 LXX). For example, “Pride

¹³⁸ There is one very awkward translation in Isaiah: “Ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκλειψίς τῆς δόξης Ιακωβ, καὶ τὰ πῖονα τῆς δόξης [רִצְרִצָּ] αὐτοῦ σεισθήσεται” (Is 17:4 LXX). Here the Hebrew word for flesh is translated as δόξα.

¹³⁹ “Κύριος σαβαωθ ἐβουλεύσατο παραλῦσαι πᾶσαν τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ ἀτιμάσαι πᾶν ἔνδοξον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς” (Is 23:9 LXX).

¹⁴⁰ Here the glory has apocryphal eschatological connotation.

¹⁴¹ Paul also confronts the imperial glory and his enemies with the *doxa* motif. See my study in chapter 3-5.

humbles a man, but the Lord supports the humble-minded with glory [δόξα]” (Prov 29:23 LXX NETS). It is the fourth of these classifications that caused the translators to choose *doxa* as the main translation because *kabod* and *doxa* share the semantic field here. Both of them can mean dignity, high regard, respect, reputation, honor, fame, and object of respect.¹⁴²

To summarize, the Septuagint sometimes uses *doxa* in the profane sense. Four different categories are rendered by *doxa*: material well-being, beauty of a person, the national splendor in reference to pride, and honor gained through humility. While the profane usage is not the main convention for the use of *doxa*, it contributes to an understanding of the more predominant treatments of *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures, which I will turn to next.

2.3.2. *Doxa* as a Character of the Lord and *Theophany*

The most pervasive use of *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures is associated with the identity and character of the Lord. Indeed, one can distinguish four different ways in which the character of the Lord is depicted as *doxa*:¹⁴³ the divine presence of *theophany*, transcendent holiness, various locations where the Lord’s presence resides, and the superiority of his presence.

First, *doxa* is considered as the Lord’s divine presence, *theophany*, describing His identity and character. In the Pentateuch, the Lord reveals himself as the glory of the Lord. This personal revelation is often a visual phenomenon, with a reference to the presence of the Lord. He appeared in a cloud (Exod 16:10), at and by a tent (Num 14:10; 20:6), and to an entire congregation (Num 16:9). He fills the tabernacle (Exod 40:35), dwells and appears on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:16-17), is shown to Israelites when giving the Decalogue (Deut 5:24), passes by Moses (Exod 33:18-23), and consumes the sacrifice and kills Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:2). Seemingly, the Pentateuch writer (and the Septuagint translators: δόξα κυρίου) chose the “Glory of the Lord” terminology because

¹⁴² See Collins, *NIDOTE* 2:577-87 and *BDAG*, “δόξα.” Δόξα does have a negative connotation in the Septuagint in reference to the nation’s own δόξα without acknowledgement of the Lord. I will deal with this in the section that discusses the δόξα of the Lord in reference to idols.

¹⁴³ The most significant phrase regarding the word כְּבוֹד in the Hebrew Bible is יהוה כְּבוֹד, which functions as a developed technical term with a loaded theology. יהוה כְּבוֹד occurs thirty-six times in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 16:7, 10; 24:16, 17; 40:34, 35; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 14:10, 21; 16:19, 42 [17:7]; 20:6; 1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1, 2, 3; Ps 104:31 [103:31 LXX]; 138:5; Is 35:2; 40:5; 58:8; 60:1; Ezek 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 10:4 (2x); 10:18; 11:23; 43:4; 44:4; Hab 2:14). יהוה is replaced also another seven times with אֵל (Ps 19:2; 29:3) or with אֱלֹהִים (Prov 25:2; Ezek 9:3; 10:19; 11:22; 43:2). The Septuagint consistently translates the terms as ἡ δόξα κυρίου or ἡ δόξα θεοῦ accordingly (Exod 24:16 makes a rare exception). (In addition to the Hebrew Bible, δόξα κυρίου occurs in the apocryphal books in 2 Macc 2:8; Odess 5:10; Sir 1:11; 42:16; 43:9; and Pss. Sol. 5:19. 17:31.) Additionally, δόξα κυρίου is translated from three different Hebrew words: Numbers 12:8 translates יְהוָה (the form of the Lord) as δόξα κυρίου, in Isaiah 26:10 δόξα κυρίου is the translation of גְּבוּרָתוֹ (the majesty of the Lord), and in Isaiah 24:14 δόξα κυρίου is from the translation of כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהֵינוּ (the majesty of the Lord). (It is also added in 2 Chr 5:13.) Sometimes κυρίου is replaced with the possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (his).

of its connotation regarding appearance. The psalm writer concurs with the *theophany* theme as he claims that the Lord is to be seen in His glory: “The nations will fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth your glory [τὴν δόξαν σου], because the Lord will build up Sion, and he will be seen in his glory” [ὀφθήσεται ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ] (Ps 101:16-17 LXX NETS). Newman’s conclusion that δόξα κυρίου “is almost always associated with either ‘movement’ or ‘appearance’ terminology” is well warranted.¹⁴⁴ His understanding also explains why the Greek term *doxa* was chosen to communicate the presence of the Lord. It is sometimes connected to another illuminatory adjective¹⁴⁵ to stress the weightiness of the matter.

Second, *doxa* is linked with the manifestation of the character of the Lord such as transcendent holiness, His zeal for His own name in judgment, moral and aesthetic character, and sovereign grace. Most literally, we see heaviness regarding the intrinsic being of the Lord in 2 Chronicles 2:5: “Who will be able to build him [the Lord] a house? – Because the sky and sky of the sky cannot bear his glory [οὐ φέρουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν]” (NETS). In Isaiah 6:3 the emphatic “holy, holy, holy” is the description of the Lord almighty. The second rhythmic line describes this Lord: “The whole earth is full of his glory [τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ].” The glory of God is his manifested holiness. In addition, we find an interchangeable use of the Lord’s *doxa* to his name in at least three other passages in Isaiah (e.g. Is 42:8; 43:7; 59:19-20; Ezek 9:3-10:4).¹⁴⁶

Interestingly, δόξα κυρίου often appears as a consequence of the Israelites—individual or corporate—murmuring against Moses, Aaron, or/and the Lord. Their dissatisfaction with the Lord’s instruction causes the divine appearance. We see this six different times in the Pentateuch (Exod 16:6-10; 33:18-23; Lev 9:6; Num 16:19, 42; 20:6). For example, the whole congregation complains to Moses and Aaron because of the simplicity of the food they have to eat compared to the feasts experienced in Egypt (Exod 16:1-3). The glory of the Lord appears as a consequence as He feeds them with manna: “Moses and Aaron said to the entire congregation of the sons of Israel, ‘At evening you shall know that the Lord brought you out of the land of Egypt, and in the morning you shall see the glory of the Lord [ὄψεσθε τὴν δόξαν κυρίου], when he heard your complaining against God. But we, what are we that you complain against us?’” (Exod 16:6-7 LXX NETS). Also, 250 of the Israelites led by Korah grumble against Moses after the Israelites have come out of Egypt and have not yet entered the Promised Land. The glory of the Lord is manifested in killing

¹⁴⁴ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 24.

¹⁴⁵ For example, in Ezekiel 10:4: “ἡ αὐλὴ ἐπλήσθη τοῦ φέγγους [φέγγος = light, radiance, glow] τῆς δόξης κυρίου.”

¹⁴⁶ For a thesis between “name” theology and a “*kabod*” theology, see Tryggve Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1982).

the rebels and their families (Num 16:1-35, esp. 19). Leviticus 9:1-10:3 offers another occasion of the Lord's presence; in this case it results in the death of two Israelites (Nadab and Abihu). God's glory appears as God accepts Aaron's sin offerings and burnt offerings as atonement; however, when Nadab and Abihu offer unauthorized fire before the Lord, He consumes them. In Exodus 33 δόξα κυρίου appears as a consequence of the Israelites' idolatry. Here Moses requests to see Yahweh's *doxa*, his presence. In Numbers 14 all the Israelites are ready to stone Joshua and Caleb after they report the goodness of the Promised Land. The very next verse reads, "The glory of the Lord [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] appeared in a cloud upon the tent" (Num 14:10 LXX NETS). As a result, the Lord threatens to destroy the nation of Israel and start again with Moses (cf. Exod 32:10). Moses intercedes for the people, appealing to the Lord's promises to sustain his people. The Lord's judgment is only partial, as He does not let the redeemed people go to the Land; instead, they die in the wilderness. He allows only the next generation to enter the Land with Joshua and Caleb. This story is another in which the Israelites complain against Moses and Aaron.¹⁴⁷ The presence of the Lord is highlighted by his judgment in all of these appearances.¹⁴⁸

The Lord alone possesses *doxa*. Because of His superiority, He requires total and complete surrender to his own *doxa*. This superiority can be seen as the *doxa* of the Lord in salvation through judgment in Isaiah 24. While the chapter starts with a picture of judgment, an enigmatic change takes place in verses 15-16: "Therefore the glory of the Lord [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] will be in the islands of the sea; the name of the Lord will be glorious [ἐνδοξόν]" (Is 24:15 LXX NETS).¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, "I am the Lord; that is my name; my glory [δόξαν] I give no other (Is 42:8 LXX).

The glory of the Lord describes the superiority, majesty, and kingship of His character and name in the psalms as well. Psalm 23:7-10 LXX describes the Lord as the king of *doxa* (x5) when the Ark of the Covenant moves through the gates into the sanctuary after a military victory. This reference has a political aspect.

¹⁴⁷ Numbers 14:22 gives another reference to *kabod*. Here it refers to all of the Lord's signs to Pharaoh to redeem his people from Egypt.

¹⁴⁸ See also I am the Lord God; this is my name; *my glory* [δόξαν] I will not give another, nor my excellences to the graven images (Is 42:8 LXX NETS); All who have been called by my name. For I prepared him *in my glory* [ἐν γὰρ τῇ δόξῃ μου], and I formed and made him (Is 43:7 LXX NETS); Those from the west shall fear the name of the Lord, and those from the rising of the sun, *his glorious name* [τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐνδοξόν] (Is 59:19 LXX NETS).

¹⁴⁹ The end of the chapter portrays an eschatologically hopeful picture as the Lord's *doxa* has taken over Zion and Jerusalem: "Then the brick will be dissolved, and the wall will fall, because the Lord will reign in Sion and in Jerusalem, and before the elders *he will be glorified* [δοξασθήσεται]" (Is 24:23 LXX NETS). This universal cosmic salvation that has been accomplished through judgment causes worship, adoration, and glory. "O Lord, my God; I will glorify [δοξάσω] you; I will sing hymns to your name, because you have done wonderful things—an ancient, true plan. May it be so Lord! Because you have made cities a heap, fortified cities, so their foundations might fall; the city of the impious will not be built forever; therefore the poor will bless you" (Is 25:1-3 LXX NETS).

Raise the gates, O rulers of yours! And be raised up, O perpetual gates! And the King of glory [ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης] shall enter. Who is this King of glory [ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]? The Lord, strong and powerful, the Lord, powerful in battle. Raise the gates, O rulers of yours! And be raised up, O perpetual gates! And the king of glory shall enter. Who is this King of glory [ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory [ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]. (Ps 23:7-10 LXX NETS)

As in Isaiah, in Exodus 33, and in many psalms, the name of the Lord and glory are interchangeable terms depicting the kingship and superiority of the Lord (Ps 28:2; 65:2; 71:19; 78:9; 95:8; 101:16 LXX). The glory of the Lord is also demonstrated in his ability to feed his people (Exod 16:7-10) and in his divine revelation when giving the Decalogue to the Israelites (Deut 5:24).

Exodus 33-34 reveals the glory of the Lord as his intrinsic character, namely his moral and aesthetic goodness in his sovereign grace. This passage is important for my purpose because Paul uses Moses's encounter with the Lord in Exodus 33-34 as a pivotal part of his argument in Romans 9 and 2 Corinthians 3-4. Exodus 33:12-34:9 contains two requests from Moses: (1) Moses pleads for the Lord to allow him to go to the Promised Land with his own people (Exod 33:12, 13, 15-16; 34:9) and (2) Moses prays to know God and to see his glory (Exod 33:13, 18). The context of Moses's prayer to the Lord is Israel's idolatry and restoration.¹⁵⁰

He [Moses] says, "show me your own glory [δόξαν / כְּבוֹד]!" And He [the Lord] said, "*I will pass by before you in my glory/beauty* [τῇ δόξῃ μου / טוֹב], and I will call by my name 'Lord,' before you. And I will have mercy on whomever I have mercy, and will have compassion on whomever I will have compassion." And He [the Lord] said, "You shall not be able to see my face. For a person shall never see my face and live." And the Lord said, "Look, a place is near you. You shall stand on the rock. Now whenever *my glory* [μου ἡ δόξα / כְּבוֹד] passes by, then I will put you in a hole of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I pass by. And I will take my hand away, and then you shall see my hind parts, but my face will not appear to you. (Exod 33:18-23 LXX NETS)

Even though the text highlights the explanation of the glory of the Lord with many elucidatory words, it also intentionally *restricts* Moses' permission to *see* the glory: The Lord allows Moses to see only His back and prevents Moses from seeing His face (Exod 33:21-23).¹⁵¹ In the Hebrew idiom, seeing someone's face is the most intimate experience with another party.

¹⁵⁰ This encounter is parallel to Moses's first experience on Sinai when Moses was commanded to lead the Israelites from Egypt (Exod 3:7 - 4:23). God's proclamation of his name "the Lord" to Moses is an allusion to the initial encounter in Exodus 3:14-15. Also, Moses wants to see the Lord's power as He is needed to lead the Israelites to the Promised Land. God answers him, "I am gracious to whom I am gracious and I am merciful to whom I am merciful," is an example of the Hebrew formula called *idem per idem*; it reminds readers of God's initial revelation to Moses: "I am who I am" (see also Exod 4:13; 16:23; 1 Sam 23:13; 2 Sam 15:20; 2 Kgs 8:1). See Piper, *The Justification of God*, 82; Brevard Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster, 1974), 596; J. P. Hyatt, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 317.

¹⁵¹ The language includes many anthropomorphic terms, such as "face," "hand," and "back." James Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament," *VT Sup* 7 (1959): 31-38.

Consequently, the restriction from seeing the face is a prohibition from being in direct contact with the Lord's glory.¹⁵²

Regardless, the glory of God is explained by three expounding answers: (1) "I will make my glory/ goodness/ beauty [δόξα / טִיב] pass before you"; (2) "I will proclaim my name Lord before you"; and (3) "I will be gracious to whom I am gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I show mercy." These responses from the Lord seem to define δόξα¹⁵³ referring to the Lord's revelation regarding his own name, his moral goodness, i.e. his aesthetic and affectionate beauty.¹⁵⁴

The glory of the Lord is also explained by his name and sovereign grace: "I will proclaim before you my name 'The LORD.'" The proclamation of his name, the Lord, is to show his glory to Moses. Moreover, his goodness and name interpret each other and the glory of the Lord.¹⁵⁵ The following sentence defines more of his *doxa*, goodness, and his name: "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy."

Therefore, in Exodus 33 the manifestation of the glory of the Lord includes the "passing by" of his goodness, the heralding of his name, and the pointing out of his decisive sovereign grace and mercy independent of any outside subject.¹⁵⁶ In other words, the *doxa* of the Lord and his name

¹⁵² Douglas K. Stuart, *Exodus*, The New American Commentary, Vol 2 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2006), 709.

¹⁵³ Despite the interpretation of Keil and Delitzsch, Noth, and Beer, who argue that they are to be taken in a causative sense, Childs, Bush, and Piper argue more convincingly that these clauses define and interpret each other. Childs argues that the *idem per idem* formula, similar to that in Exodus 3:14, by definition interprets the name of the Lord. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 596, 563.

¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, this is the only time the Septuagint translates טִיב as δόξα. This word choice is probably because Moses's question uses the word δόξα (דְּבֹרָה). Bush, Driver, and Dillman consider טִיב as aesthetic description of the Lord's beauty (cf. Gen 39:6; Exod 2:2). They argue that (1) a moral attribute could not be said to "pass by" (33:19b); (2) the LXX renders טִיב with *doxa* and thus shows it was considered to be a visible display of beauty; and (3) Moses' request was to see God's glory, and since the request was for the visible, we may expect the answer to grant the visible (Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 86, fn. 23). Against this, following Childs, Piper argues that "goodness" is rather a moral term. The sentence "I will proclaim my name" shows that God's goodness is a "proclamation" rather than a visible manifestation. Additionally, in a close parallel between the promise (Exod 33:19) and the fulfillment (Exod 34:6), the name of the Lord has replaced "goodness," indicating that his name is merely his goodness, and this goodness is the moral character of God manifested in his compassionate mercy (רַחֲמִים) and loving-kindness (חֶסֶד). Piper, *The Justification of God*, 87. "This root refers to 'good' or 'goodness' in its broadest sense. Five general areas of meaning can be noted: 1) practical, economic, or material good; 2) abstract goodness such as desirability, pleasantness, and beauty; 3) quality or expense; 4) moral goodness; and 5) technical philosophical good." Andrew Bowling, "טִיב," *TWOT*, 793.

¹⁵⁵ Peter Gentry argues from a chiasmic structure that "the glory of Yahweh can be described under two categories: the name of Yahweh and the way of Yahweh." According to Gentry, the first phrase describes God as he is in himself, in character and nature, while the latter phrase describes God in his relation to the creation. He also notes the similar kind of description in Psalm 86. Peter J. Gentry, "'The Glory of God' – The Character of God's Being and Way in the World: Some Reflections on a Key Biblical Theology Theme," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 20.1 (2016): 149-161.

¹⁵⁶ Piper states, "It is the glory of God and his essential nature mainly to dispense mercy (but also wrath, Exod 34:7) on whomever he pleases apart from any constraint originating outside his own will. This is the essence of what it means to be God. This is his name." Piper, *The Justification of God*, 88-89. Bush says, "The meaning of [33:19] is: 'I will proclaim myself passing by thee as the Lord whose prerogative it is to be gracious to whom I will be gracious and to

signify the same thing here as well.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, in this story the *doxa* of the Lord is depicted as a divine presence which is partly and ambivalently revealed to Moses. The definition of the glory of the Lord and the *restriction* of Moses not to see and experience the glory are significant for this study because Paul refers to this passage both in Romans 9 and 2 Corinthians 3-4.

To recapitulate the second point, several intrinsic characteristics of the Lord are highlighted via the *doxa* concept: holiness, jealousy over his own name, righteousness and judgment towards sin, moral and aesthetic goodness, and sovereign grace.

Third, the glory of the Lord is regularly linked with certain locations. This *theophany* appears in a cloud at Sinai, in the tabernacle and the temple, and will fill the entire new temple and the whole earth.¹⁵⁸ For the purposes of this study, this *theophany* is a noteworthy aspect because, for Paul, the dwelling place of the *doxa* of the Lord is found in Christ and in believers. Paul seems to continue in the tradition started in the Jewish Scriptures. The first appearance of the Lord's *doxa* is seen in the cloud (ἡ δόξα κυρίου ὤφθη ἐν νεφέλῃ; Exod 16:10 LXX). In the following manifestation, the Lord appears again in the cloud, this time on Mount Sinai:

God's glory descended upon the mountain, Sinai [κατέβη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινᾶ], and the cloud covered it for six days, and the Lord called Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud. *Now the appearance of the Lord's glory* [τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου ὥσει] was like a flaming fire on the top of the mountain before the sons of Israel. And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud, and went up to the mountain, and he was there on the mountain for forty days and forty nights. (Exod 24:16-18 LXX NETS)

The Lord's glory on Mount Sinai is repeated in Exodus 33:18-23, where the *doxa* passes by Moses (cf. Deut 5:24).

The glory of the Lord appears next in the tabernacle. This event is mentioned several times (Exod 40:34-35; Lev 9:6; Num 14:10; 20:6). "The cloud covered the tent of witness, and the tent was filled with *the glory of the Lord* [δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή]. And Moses was unable to enter into the tent of witness, because the cloud was overshadowing it, and the tent was filled with

have mercy upon whom I will have mercy. This shall be the substance of what I will proclaim respecting the import of that great and fearful name.'" George Bush, *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Exodus*, 2 vols (New York: Iverson & Phinney, 1859), 239.

¹⁵⁷ A. S. van der Woude concludes, "Since Yahweh's name is bound up with his fame (*ʾhilla*) (Ps 48:11) *sem Jhwh* can be used as a synonym for Yahweh's glory (Is 59:19; Ps 102:16; cf. Ps 72:19; Neh 9:5)." *THAT*, II, 958. Piper summarizes the arguments as follows: "1) They are interchangeable in synonymous parallels (Ps 8:1; 102:15; 148:13; Is 48:9, 11; 59:19); 2) Israel is said to exist for God's glory (Is 43:7; 46:13) and for his name (Jer 13:11); 3) the terms occur in construct with each other – 'the glory of his name' (Ps 79:9; 29:2; 66:2; 96:8) and 'the name of his glory' (Ps 72:19; Neh 9:5); 4) when men are called to 'give God the glory due to his name' (Ps 29:2) the only reason is that there is glory in the name worthy of such glorification." Piper, *Justification of God*, 88, fn 27.

¹⁵⁸ Dan Liroy traces the temple motif in Scripture, sometimes in light of glory language in his recent study. Dan Liroy, *Axis of Glory: A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Temple Motif in Scripture*, Studies in Biblical Literature 138 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010).

the glory of the Lord [δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή]” (Exod 40:34-35 LXX NETS). The temple that was structured after the patterns of the tabernacle was also the dwelling place of *doxa*. We see this affirmed in several places in the historical books (e.g. 3 Reigns 8:10-11; 1 Chr 22:5; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1, 2, 3). The *doxa* of the Lord dwells in the temple, as the ark is present there and calls forth people’s worship of the Lord. This *doxa* appearance will happen in Solomon’s temple during the dedication after the priests have brought the Ark there: “The priests could not stand to minister from the cloud, for *the glory of the LORD* [δόξα κυρίου] *filled the house of the Lord*” (3 Reigns 8:11; cf. 2 Chr 2:15).¹⁵⁹ The appearance also happens in the same ceremony after Solomon’s prayer (2 Chr 7:1-3 LXX NETS).¹⁶⁰

The psalmists also declare the temple as the dwelling place (glory) of the Lord (e.g. Ps 25:8; 28:9; 62:2; 84:9 LXX). For example, “O Lord, I loved your house’s majesty and the spot of your *glory’s covert* [σκηνώματος δόξης σου]” (Ps 25:8 LXX NETS).

Similarly, the prophets describe the Lord’s throne in the temple as a place of *doxa*: “Stop for your own name’s sake; do not destroy *the throne of your glory* [θρόνον δόξης σου]” (Jer 14:21 LXX NETS; cf. 17:12; Ezek 44:4). This understanding becomes particularly clear in the oracles of the prophet Ezekiel, where the *doxa* of the Lord is manifested in his departure from the temple that leads to judgment (Ezek 8:4; 10:4; 11:23). Ezekiel 8-11 forms the second vision in the book, comprising the idolatrous worship in the temple that results in judgment and the departure of the *doxa* of the Lord. In the beginning of the vision “the glory [δόξα] of the Lord God of Israel was there like the vision that I saw in the plain” (Ezek 8:4 LXX NETS) in the inner court. In chapters 9-10 the glory of the Lord departs from the temple as a consequence of idol worship. The author emphasizes the fact by repeating it three times: “*The glory of the God of Israel* [δόξα θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ] ascended from the cheroubin” (Ezek 9:3 LXX NETS; cf. Ezek 10:4, 18-19). The cheroubin is the reference to the Ark of the Covenant as two cheroubin figures were placed above the altar where the *doxa* of the Lord dwells. The vision ends as the glory departs from the city (Ezek 11:22-23 LXX).

¹⁵⁹ 2 Supplements 2:15 states, “But who is able to build him a house, since heaven, even highest heaven, cannot contain him” [τὴν δόξαν]? See also 2 Supplements 5:13, where δόξα has been added: ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήσθη νεφέλης δόξης κυρίου.

¹⁶⁰ When Solomon finished praying, the fire also descended from the sky and consumed the whole burnt offerings and the sacrifices, and *the Lord’s glory* filled the house [δόξα κυρίου ἐπλησεν τὸν οἶκον]. And the priests were unable to enter into the Lord’s house at that time, because the Lord’s glory filled the house. And all the sons of Israel saw the fire descend, and *the glory of the Lord was on the house* [ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον] and they fell face down on the ground on the pavement and did obeisance and were praising the Lord (2 Suppl 7:1-3 LXX NETS).

The Ark of the Covenant located in the holy place of the temple was the concrete place of the Lord's *doxa*. We see this in 1 Samuel 4:21-22 (cf. Ps 77:61 LXX).¹⁶¹

She named the boy Woe Barchaboth, because of the ark [τῆς κιβωτοῦ / כִּבְוֹד] of God and because of her father in law and because of her husband. And they said, “*The glory* [δόξα / כְּבוֹד] of Israel has been exiled, in that the ark of the Lord [τὴν κιβωτὸν κυρίου] has been taken.” (1 Sam 4:21-22 LXX NETS)¹⁶²

Lastly, the *doxa* of the Lord is manifested upon all the earth. While this motif is especially found in the psalms and in the Prophetic oracles (e.g. Hab 2:14), it is also mentioned in the Pentateuch, where the author of Numbers 14:21 declares: “*But I live, and my name is living; the glory of Lord shall also fill all the earth*” [ἐμπλήσει ἡ δόξα κυρίου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν] (Num 14:21 LXX NETS). The increasingly spatial hope is found in the psalms, where the glory of God is revealed in every dimension and area of the universe, not only among Israelites but also among the nations (ἔθνη). “The heavens are telling the divine glory [δόξαν θεοῦ]” (Ps 18:1 LXX NETS) and creation evidences the sustaining nature of His *doxa* (Ps 104:31-32). His *doxa* is above the waters (Ps 28:3 LXX) and the heavens (Ps 113:4 LXX), dwells over all the earth (Ps 56:5, 12; 71:19; 107:6 LXX), is to be declared not only to those who reside in the land and fear Him (Ps 84:10 LXX), but also to all the nations (Ps 95:3 LXX; cf. 1 Chr 16:28; 96:6 LXX). These numerous passages portray vividly how the *doxa* of the Lord appears in the entire creation and His divine presence is reflected in the whole universe. To summarize, the residence of the *doxa* of the Lord is located in a cloud, at Mount Sinai, in the tabernacle, in Jerusalem and Zion, in the Temple and the holy of holies, and finally throughout the entire earth.

Fourth, δόξα κυρίου functions to demonstrate the Lord's power, superiority, importance, and kingship over other gods and creatures. Strikingly, Paul references all of them in the Book of Romans. The Lord's glory (ἐνδοξάζω)¹⁶³ is revealed over Pharaoh.

¹⁶¹ 1 Samuel 4-6 emphasizes the “blessing/curse” motif not unique to David and Solomon's monarchy. In this text a child named *Ichabod* (“without glory”) states the departure of the Ark, namely the *doxa* of the Lord from Israel. In this Ark, the hand of God was heavy (כְּבוֹד / βαρύνω in 1 Sam 5:6), but it does not bring success to the Philistines, but rather a curse. It is not until the Ark is returned (1 Sam 7:1) that the curse is lifted because this is the way even the Philistines are urged to give “glory to God of Israel [δώσετε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν]” (1 Sam 6:5). We also see this motif in David's lengthy prayer before the Ark of the Covenant (1 Chr 16:8-36). The presence of the Ark equals the presence of the glory of the Lord: “Give to the Lord glory [δόξα] due to his name” (1 Chr 16:29). The temple that was located in Jerusalem was also sometimes called Sion. Not surprisingly, *doxa* is also found to dwell in Zion: “because the Lord will build up Sion, and he will be seen in his glory [ὀφθήσεται ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ]” (Ps 101:17 LXX NETS).

¹⁶² The Septuagint translates the first כְּבוֹד in 4:21 as the ark (κιβωτός), probably because the Hebrew text uses the ark אֲרוֹן in 4:22.

¹⁶³ The verbal form exists ten times in Septuagint: Exod 14:4, 17, 18, 33:16, 2 Kgs 14:10; Ps 88:8; Sir 38:6; Hag 1:8; Is 45:25; and Ezek 28:22; 38:23. Interestingly, Exodus 33:16 talks about Moses being glorified. There is a distinct addition to the Hebrew text. This prefixed verbal form is found only twice in the New Testament (in 2 Thess 1:10, 12).

I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and he will pursue after them, and I will be glorified in Pharaoh [ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐν φαραῳ] and in all his army, and all the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord." (Exod 14:4 LXX NETS; cf. Exod 14:17-18; Numb 14:22)¹⁶⁴

Here the Lord is glorified in making his own name known to Pharaoh in his destruction and in the redemption of the Israelites. Paul references this text in Romans 9.

Psalms 105 LXX is another important passage because Paul quotes it in Romans 1:23 in relation to *doxa* and sin: "They made a calf at Choreb and did obeisance to the graven image. And they exchanged their glory [ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν] for a likeness of a bull that eats grass. They forgot the God who was saving them, who did great things in Egypt" (Ps 105:19-21 NETS). This psalm is a commentary on Exodus 32. The idolatry of the Israelites is described by the *doxa* language. The root of idolatry is described as ignoring the *doxa* of the Lord and exchanging it for the likeness of a bull. The *doxa* of the Lord is also contrasted with other idols in Psalm 96:6-7 LXX: "The heavens proclaimed his righteousness, and all the people beheld his glory [δόξαν]. Let all who do obeisance to carved images be put to shame, those who make their boast in their idols" (Ps 97:6-7 LXX NETS).¹⁶⁵

Another relevant text for Pauline *doxa* theology in this category is Jeremiah 2:11, to which Paul also alludes in Romans 1:23. Similar to Psalm 105, Jeremiah 2:11 charges that the Israelites have exchanged their *doxa*, namely the Lord himself and his covenants, for something that does not profit them but harms them. The Israelites are guilty of idolatry, as they adore idols more than their God: "Will nations change their gods? And these are no gods? But my people have changed *his glory* [ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ] for one from which they will not profit" (Jer 2:11 LXX NETS with modification). Unlike the nations who have been faithful to their lifeless gods, the Israelites have exchanged their/his *doxa*, the Lord, for idols. Similarly, in Jeremiah 13:15-17 LXX the Israelites are called to repent by returning to the Lord and giving *doxa* to him.

In the LXX translation of the Book of Hosea, *doxa* occurs three times, always in reference to the vainglory of the idols of Israel (Hos 4:7; 9:11; 10:5). In the first instance the Lord accuses Israel of a lack of knowledge, faithfulness, and steadfast love towards Himself. Israel has forgotten the law of their God and sinned against Him. Whence the Lord "will change their glory [δόξα] into shame" (Hos. 4:7). Secondly, the tribe of Ephraim, named after Joseph's second son, is guilty of

¹⁶⁴ This story is referenced in Numbers 14:21-23b: "But truly, as I live, and as all the earth shall be filled with the *glory of the LORD*, none of the men who have seen *my glory* and my signs that I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have put me to the test these ten times and have not obeyed my voice, shall see the land that I swore to give to their fathers."

¹⁶⁵ The last word translated as "angels" comes from the Septuagint ἄγγελοι as opposed to the Hebrew word *elohim*.

idolatry and spiritual whoredom by forsaking their God, with the result that their “glory [αἱ δόξαι αὐτῶν] shall fly away like a bird—no birth, no pregnancy, no conception!” (Hos 9:11).¹⁶⁶ The author of Hosea pronounces judgment and destruction upon idolatrous Israel for a third time in Hosea 10:5-6:

The inhabitants of Samaria will dwell near the bull of the house of On, because his people mourned for him. And as they provoked him, *they will rejoice over his glory* [ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ], for it had been departed from them. And they carried him wrapped to the Assyrians as friendly gifts to King Iarim. Ephraim will accept with a gift, and Israel will be ashamed by his counsel. (Hosea 10:5-6 LXX NETS)

Israel’s core sin, according to Hosea, is rejoicing over the *doxa* of false gods instead of that of the true God. The Lord does judge this idolatry while staying faithful to Israel.

In Isaiah (LXX) the Lord requires people to give *doxa* to Himself (Is 24:15; 42:12; 43:7), and He says all glories of idols and nations will be ultimately destroyed (Is 16:14; 10:16; 21:16; 42:8; 48:9-11). The entire history of Israel reveals her tendency to worship and bow down to idols and other gods.¹⁶⁷ The Lord responds bluntly to this idolatry and adoration of false gods:

I am the Lord God; that is my name; *my glory* [τὴν δόξαν] I will not give to another, nor my excellences to the graven images. (Is 42:8 LXX NETS)

For my name’s sake I will show you my wrath; I will bring my glorious [ἐνδοξά] deeds upon you so that I may not utterly destroy you. See, I have sold you, not for silver, but I delivered you from the furnace of poverty. For my own sake will I do this to you, because my name is being profaned and *my glory* [δόξαν] I will not give another to another. (Is 48:9-11 LXX NETS)

Not only are gods and idols not allowed to receive glory, but in Psalm 113:9 LXX the psalmist appeals to the Lord not to share His *doxa* with human beings: “Not to us, O Lord, not to us, rather to your name give glory [δόξα], for your mercy and your truth” (Ps 113:9 LXX NETS). In all these occurrences we have seen the unique superiority of the Lord over other gods, idols, or humans communicated through His *doxa*.

¹⁶⁶ The author of Hosea uses Ephraim synonymously with the Northern Kingdom, or Israel, 35 times in his writings. The first time this reference occurs is in Hosea 4:17.

¹⁶⁷ The Lord cannot tolerate the glories of other nations and therefore destroys them completely. The following passages indicate how the idols and glories of Assyria (Is 10:16-19), Babylonia (Is 13:19), Moab (Is 16:14), Aram (Is 17:3-4), Judah (Is 17:4), Arab/Kedar (Is 21:16), Tyre and Sidon (Is 23:9) will be annihilated by the Lord. Here *doxa* refers to the pride of the nations: “And Babylon, which is called *glorious* [ἐνδοξος] by the king of the Chaldeans, will be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorra” (Is 13:19 LXX NETS); “And now I say, in three years of the years a hired worker, *the glory* [δόξα] of Moab will be dishonored [ἀτιμασθήσεται] with all its great wealth, and it will be left few in number and without honor [ἐντιμος]” (Is 16:14 LXX NETS). “For thus the Lord said to me; Yet a year, like the year of a hired worker – *the glory* [δόξα] of the sons of Kedar will fail” (Is 21:16 LXX NETS); “The Lord of Sabaoth has planned to undo all the pride of *the glorious ones* [ἐνδόξων] and to dishonor every *glorious* [ἐνδοξον] thing on the earth” (Is 23:9 LXX NETS); Here the passages are used as a comparison to the *doxa* of the Lord.

2.3.3. *Doxa* Attributed to Other Characters

While *doxa* is used predominantly in reference to the Lord, it is sometimes associated with other characters as well. What are those characters and how are they related to the *doxa* of the Lord?

First, in Exodus 33-34, Moses's face reflects glory (33:16; 34:29-30, 35 LXX; ἐνδοξασθήσομαι, δεδόξασται and δεδοξασμένη) because Moses has been in the Lord's presence:

As Moses was descending from the mountain, the two tablets also were in Moses' hands. Now as he was descending from the mountain, Moses did not know that the appearance of the skin of his face was charged with glory [δεδόξασται] while he was speaking and Aaron and all the elders of Israel saw Moses, and the appearance of the skin of his face was charged with glory [δεδοξασμένη], and they were afraid to come near to him...And the sons of Israel saw the face of Moses that it was charged with glory [δεδόξασται], and Moses put a covering over his face until he went in to converse with him. (Exod 34:29-30, 35 LXX NETS)¹⁶⁸

Interestingly, Exodus 33:16 LXX adds the δόξα language to the Hebrew text, indicating that Moses and the people shall be glorified as a consequence of finding the Lord's favor.¹⁶⁹ This reflection is further demonstrated in Exodus 34:29-30 in the description of Moses: as he comes down from the mountain with two tablets, his face is shining with glory because he has talked with the Lord. The relationship between the Lord's glory and the glory that Moses is charged with is ambivalent.¹⁷⁰ While Moses himself is not aware of the glory that is shining in his face, his appearance, however, is transformed, and Aaron and all the people were afraid.¹⁷¹

Second, the royal kings can be associated with *doxa*. We see this in two different Psalms. Psalm 8 states:

O Lord, our Lord, how admirable is your name in all the earth, because your magnificence was raised beyond the heavens. Out of the mouths of infants and nurslings you furnished praise for yourself, for the sake of your enemies, to put down enemy and avenger, because I will observe the heavens, works of your fingers – moon and stars – things that you founded. What is man that you are mindful of him or the son of man that you attend to him? You diminished him a little in comparison with angels; *with glory and honor* [δόξη καὶ τιμῇ

¹⁶⁸ Δοξάζω is translated from the Hebrew word קָרָן here.

¹⁶⁹ “How shall it be truly known that I have found favor with you, both I and your people, other than if you go along with us? And we shall be glorified [ἐνδοξασθήσομαι], both I and your people, above all the nations that are on the earth” (Exod 33:16 LXX NETS).

¹⁷⁰ According to Longman, “his [God's] real, though partial, presence is impressive enough – indeed, so impressive that when Moses descended from the mountain with the new tablets of the law, his face shone, presumably with the reflective glory of God.” Longman, “The Glory of God in the Old Testament,” 53. Paul compares this reflection of Moses's glory with the glory of Christ in 2 Corinthians 3-4 (see my discussion in chapter 4). Apparently, Paul is more dependent on the LXX text than on the MT. See also Linda Belleville, *Reflections of Glory: Paul's Polemical Use of the Moses-doxa Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3.1-18*, JSNT Supplement 52 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1991), 24.

¹⁷¹ For a possible alternative Jewish understanding, where Moses dies in glory, see Pseudo-Philo, *Antiquities* 19:16. “And Moses when he heard was filled with understanding, and his likeness was changed gloriously; and he died in glory according to the mouth of the Lord.” See also Linda L. Belleville, “Paul's Polemical Use” (PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College, 1986), 37-42.

ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν] you crowned him. And you set him over the works of your hands; you subjected all under his feet; sheep and cattle, all together, and further the beasts of the plain, the birds of the air and the fish of the sea – the things that pass through paths of seas. O Lord, our Lord, how admirable is your name in all the earth! (Ps 8:3-9 LXX NETS)

The son of man in Psalm 8:6 LXX has been crowned with *doxa* by the Lord.¹⁷² This psalm is probably a description of a royal figure¹⁷³ that reminds the readers of Adam's responsibility to bear the image of God and have dominion over his works (Gen 1:26).¹⁷⁴ In other words—despite von Rad's doubts¹⁷⁵—Psalm 8 is a commentary on the events of Genesis 1.¹⁷⁶ Interestingly, the psalmist does not use the word “image” (תִּצְלַח in MT; εἰκόν in LXX) found in Genesis 1:26-27. Rather, he uses the word “glory” (דְּבָרָא and דְּבָרָא in MT; δόξα and τιμή in LXX), so it seems that the psalm writer makes an interpretative choice to communicate that the son of man (Adam) represents God (*elohim*) as his derivative *doxa*. Furthermore, the emphasis seems to be on the kingly function of the son of man, rather than on the ontological description, because the psalm writer underlines the wondrous duty of Adam as a ruler of the creation.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, the psalm starts and ends with the praise to the Lord for his wondrous name *in all the earth*.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, it is possible to see the purpose of the Lord to fill the earth with his glory by the presence of the royal son (cf. Ps 71 LXX). If so, this psalm is not only a commentary on Genesis, but also a reflection of the eschatological promise of *doxa* throughout the earth.¹⁷⁹ This text is particularly applicable to my study since Paul

¹⁷² See also Psalm 57:9 LXX, where the author of the psalm calls his inner being δόξα. “ἐξεγέρθητι ἡ δόξα μου ἐξεγέρθητι ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάρα ἐξεγερθήσονται ὄρθρου” (Ps 57:9 LXX). See F. Raurell, “Significat antropológic de ‘doxa’ en Job-LXX,” in *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 9 (1984): 1-33; F. Raurell, “Anthropological meaning of ‘Doxa’ in Job-LXX,” *Estudios Franciscanos* 96 (1995): 197-227. Raurell makes a connection between Psalm 8:3-5, Genesis 1:26-27, and the Qumran passages.

¹⁷³ H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary*, trans. H.C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 180.

¹⁷⁴ Meredith G. Kline, “Creation in the Image of the Glory-Spirit,” *WTJ* 39 (1976/77): 250-272.

¹⁷⁵ von Rad, “εἰκόν,” *TDNT* II, 390-392. Interestingly, von Rad admits the similarity of the motif in Psalm 8 and Genesis 1:26, yet at the same doubts the relationship: “It is significant that Ps. 8, which at most is only loosely related to Gn. 1, brings the divinely given task of ruling creation into similar relation to the divine likeness, and the train of thought is the same in Sir 17:3f.”

¹⁷⁶ Hubert James Keener, *A Canonical Exegesis of Psalm 8: YHWH's Maintenance of the Created Order through Divine Reversal*, *Journal of Theological Interpretation Supplement* 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 98-110. Keener concludes: “The idealized description of creation in Psalms 8 depicts the human as ruling for the benefit of the created order in order to show the excellence of YHWH's name in the earth” (p. 109).

¹⁷⁷ See John Walton, *Genesis*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 130-131.

¹⁷⁸ See also Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 37 and Greg Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, NSBT (Downers Grove: IVP, 2004), 81-93.

¹⁷⁹ Beale has shown how this concept is not rare in Ancient Near East literature, including Akkadian prayers and Babylonian *Enuma Elish*. It is found especially in *Enuma Elish* (6.107-130). Beale, *Temple and the Mission of God's people*, 81-93. Additionally, Nicholas Meyer argues that in the Hadoyat, Psalmists consider Genesis 1:26-27 and Psalm 8 as compared to Genesis 2:7 to be a part of the problem to be resolved. See Nicholas A. Meyer, “Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory: Rethinking Anthropogony and Theology in the Hadoyot and the Letters of Paul” (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2013), 64-79. I am thankful to Grant Macaskill for pointing me to this reference.

is applying this kingly figure to the resurrected Christ as the last Adam in 1 Corinthians 15:27-50 (see my discussion in chapters three and four).

An even more apparent reference to the royal language is found in Psalm 20:5-7 LXX, where the Lord bestows *doxa* on a Davidic king. In this way the Lord is the source of glory that he grants to a king:

O Lord, in your power the king shall be glad and at your deliverance he shall rejoice greatly. The desire of his heart you gave him, and of the wish of his lips you did not deprive him. Because you anticipated him with blessings of kindness, you set on his head a crown of precious stone. Life he asked of you, and you gave it to him – length of days forever and ever. *His glory* [δόξα αὐτοῦ] is great by your deliverance; *glory and magnificence you will bestow on him* [δόξαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ’ αὐτόν]. Because you will give him a blessing forever and ever, you will make him glad with joy through your presence. (Ps 20:1-6 LXX NETS)

Psalm 20 LXX is the second part of a set of thanksgiving psalms (19-21 LXX). The ultimate praise to the Lord is due to the fact that He bestowed *doxa* on a king.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the psalm writers associate the Lord as their *doxa*. We see this clearly in at least two different psalms. For example, Psalm 3:4 states, “You, O Lord, you are my supporter, *my glory* [δόξα μου], and the one who lifts my head” (Ps 3:4 LXX NETS; cf. 61:7; 72:24 LXX).¹⁸¹

The historical books also include instances in which the Lord grants *doxa* to his servants and kings. In Hannah’s prayer, God lifts the needy, who “inherit a seat of honor [δόξης]” (1 Sam 2:8). The Davidic kings, including David (1 Chr 17:18), Solomon (1 Kgs 3:13; cf. 2 Chr 1:11, 12), and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:5; 18:1) all receive *doxa* from the Lord as a consequence of asking for wisdom, praying, and humbling themselves.¹⁸² Similarly, “the likeness of the glory of the Lord [ὁμοιώματος δόξης κυρίου]” appears as the Adam-type kingly figure in Ezekiel 1:28. This figure is not identical with the glory of the Lord, but carries his likeness. In Daniel 5:18 king

¹⁸⁰ Moreover, in Psalm 90:15 the Lord glorifies (δοξάσω) a king or covenant members of a faith community: “He will call to me, and I will listen to him; I am with him in trouble; I will deliver and glorify [δοξάσω] him.” Here glorifying is attached to future redemption for those who trust in the providence of the Lord.

¹⁸¹ Psalm writers also identify *themselves* with *doxa* as they praise their God. “You turned my mourning into a dance for me; you tore my sackcloth and girded me with gladness so that *my glory* [ἡ δόξα μου] may make music to you and I shall not be stunned. O Lord my God, I will acknowledge you forever” (Ps 29:12-13 LXX NETS); “My heart is ready, O God; my heart is ready. I will sing and make music. Awake, *my glory* [ἡ δόξα μου]! Awake, O harp and lyre! I will awaken at dawn” (Ps 56:8 LXX NETS). Interestingly, the translators translated דָּבָר as γλῶσσα in Psalm 15:9 LXX, referring to a praising organ. See also Psalm 7:5 LXX, where *doxa* is referred to as a life to be laid in the ground by their enemies. Moreover, in one use *doxa* refers to the mortality of the wicked: “But the wicked will perish; the enemies of the LORD are like the *glory* of the pastures; they vanish—like smoke they vanish away” (Ps 37:20). In the Book of Job, Job says that the Lord “has stripped my glory [τὴν δόξαν] from me.” In other words, sometimes *doxa* refers to the being of an individual.

¹⁸² Conversely, King Uzziah’s actions do not bring him glory from Yahweh (2 Chr 26:18); King Hezekiah receives δόξα from the sons of David (2 Chr 32:27, 33).

Nebuchadnezzar is given *doxa* by God: “The most high God gave to your father Nebuchadnezzar a kingdom, and majesty, and honor, and *glory* [τὴν δόξαν] and by reason of the majesty which he gave to him, all nations, tribes and languages trembled and feared before him.”

2.3.4. The Anticipated Vindication of the *Doxa* of the Lord and the Eschatological Hope of the Restoration of Israel and the Nations

The third distinctive use of *doxa* in the Septuagint is the anticipated vindication of the *doxa* of the Lord, associated with a hopeful eschatological restoration of Israel and the nations. The restoration anticipated in the prophetic texts (especially in Isaiah: e.g. Is 4:2-6; 6:3; 11:10; 24:23; 35:2; 40:5; 43:4; 58:8; 60:1; 60:13; 61:6-8; 66:11; 66:18-19) as a climax to the return from Babylonian captivity has four elements.

First, the eschatological Servant, namely the true Israel, is created in/for *doxa* and will be glorified in the future. In Isaiah there is an emphatic eschatological hope of the Servant who will save Israel from Babylonian captivity found in relation to *doxa* (Is 4:2; 42:8; 43:6-7; 48:10-11; 49:3; 52:13; 59:19-20; 148:9 LXX; cf. Is 22:22).¹⁸³ For example:

On that day God will gloriously [ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης] shine on the earth with counsel, to uplift and *glorify* [δοξάσαι] what remains of Israel. (Is 4:2 LXX NETS)

He said to me, “You are my slave, Israel, in you *I will be glorified* [δοξασθήσομαι]. (Is 49:3 LXX NETS)

See, my servant shall understand, and he shall be exalted and *glorified* [δοξασθήσεται] exceedingly. Just as many shall be astonished at you—so shall your appearance be *without glory* [ἀδοξήσῃ] from men, and *your glory* [ἡ δόξα] be absent from the men. (Is 52:13-14 NETS)

The unique relationship between the Lord and His Servant is highlighted through *doxa*, especially in Isaiah 42:8 and 49:3, which are a part of the servant songs. In Isaiah 42 the Lord does not share his *doxa* with anyone else; it seems as if *the glory of the Lord shall be vindicated through His Servant*.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, the Lord has created Israel for the purpose of, or in, his *doxa*. In Isaiah 49:3 the identity of the Servant is clearly defined as Israel, who will be glorified (cf. Is 66:10-11).¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ See also Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 65-66; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 83-99.

¹⁸⁴ Ronald E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, SBT (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1965), 114-115.

¹⁸⁵ The LXX translates ἡ δόξα as δοξασθήσομαι. As discussed earlier, the semantic range fits this interchangeable use.

Similarly, Isaiah 4:2 tells that Israel will receive *the branch of the Lord* who shines with glory on her.¹⁸⁶

Micah also refers to *doxa* for the nation of Israel and to the promised eschatological shepherd (“The glory [ἡ δόξα] of the daughter of Israel” [Mic 1:15]). Here *doxa* refers to the existence of the national character of Israel (cf. Jer 13:18 LXX). Additionally, *doxa* denotes the promised ruler who “shall stand and see and tend his flock in the strength of the Lord. And they shall exist in the glory [ἐν τῇ δόξῃ]¹⁸⁷ of the name of the Lord their God, for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth and this shall be peace” (Mic 5:4-5 LXX NETS). This ruler who is prophesied to come from Bethlehem shall shepherd his people in the *doxa* of the name of the Lord.¹⁸⁸ His glorious reign will extend to the ends of the earth.

At the end of the book of Daniel, the seer “will rest and will rise upon your [the seer’s] glory [ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου]¹⁸⁹ at the consummation of days” (Dan 12:13 LXX NETS), “so that his eschatological destiny is a shining resurrection which to have δόξα means.”¹⁹⁰ Frederic Raurell has shown convincingly that there is a probable resemblance between this passage and Isaiah 26:10 LXX, Wisdom 3:7, 9b, 6:19; 10:14¹⁹¹ and the Qumranic glory passages.¹⁹²

Second, the vindication of the *doxa* of the Lord involves the restoration of all the peoples; it is not for Israel only (Is 24:23; 43:4; 66:11; 18-19; cf. 60:13), but for all nations (Is 11:10; 40:5; 59:19-20; 60:3-8; 61:6-8; 66:18-19). Israel will enter into glory [εἰς δόξασμα] (Is 46:13), the Lord will be glorified (δοξασθήσεται) in Israel (Is 49:3), the son of Israel will be the receiver of God’s *doxa* (ἐδοξασέν σε; Is 55:5), and the sons of Israel shall be glorified in/by God (ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐνδοξασθήσονται) (Is 45:25). Furthermore, the *doxa* of the Lord will shine upon Israel and all the nations (ἔθνη) corporeally:

Shine, shine, O Jerusalem, for your light has come, and *the glory of the Lord* [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] has risen upon you. Look, darkness and gloom shall cover the earth upon the nations, but the Lord will appear upon you, and *his glory* [ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ] will be seen upon you. Kings shall walk by your light, and nations by your brightness. (Is 60:1-3 LXX NETS)

¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, the LXX translates Isaiah 4:2 “τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ θεὸς ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,” omitting “branch” (πῶξ).

¹⁸⁷ קִיָּא in Hebrew.

¹⁸⁸ Micah 5:2 quoted in Matthew 2:6.

¹⁸⁹ Daniel has two complete ancient versions; δόξα occurs only in the Old Greek version, not in Theodotianic text.

¹⁹⁰ Frederic Raurell, “The Doxa of the Seer in Dan-LXX 12, 13,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 527.

¹⁹¹ Frederic Raurell, “The Religious Meaning of ‘Doxa’ in the Book of Wisdom,” in *La Sagesse de l’Ancien Testament*, BETL 51, ed. M. Gilbert (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 370-383.

¹⁹² Ibid., 520-532. See also Frederic Raurell, “LXX-Is 26: La δόξα com a participatió en la vida escatològica,” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 7 (1982): 57-89.

I understand their works and their reasonings; I am coming to gather *all the nations* [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] and tongues; and they shall come and shall see *my glory* [δόξαν μου]. And I will leave signs upon them, and from them I will send forth those who are saved to the *nations* [τὰ ἔθνη], to Tharsis and Phoud and Loud and Mosoch and Thobel and to Greece and to the islands far away – those who have not heard my name or *seen my glory* [δόξαν μου], and they shall *declare my glory among the nations* [μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]. They *shall bring your kindred from all the nations* [ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν] as a gift to the Lord. (Is 66:18-21 LXX NETS)

This eschatological hope for all nations is that they will come to see the *doxa* of the Lord. To behold the *doxa* of the Lord is to come into His presence and find rest in his sight (Is 11:10;¹⁹³ 60:13). This *doxa* of the Lord is located in the renovated city of Zion, Jerusalem.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, the future Davidic kingdom will be restored as a resting place for the nations.¹⁹⁵

Third, the eschatological hope of the restoration of the derivative glory of the Lord encompasses the entire earth, starting from Mount Zion: “On that day *God will gloriously* [μετὰ δόξης] *shine on the earth with counsel, to uplift and glorify* [δοξάσαι] what remains of Israel” (Is 4:2 LXX NETS).¹⁹⁶ Jerusalem and Zion become a re-created place of gathering for people from west and east (Is 59:19-20), where the glory of the Lord will be before his people to be marveled at and seen (Is 60:1-2), particularly in the sanctuary (Is 60:13; cf. Hag 1:8; 2:3, 7, 9). However, the *doxa* of the Lord will *fill the entire earth* (Is 35:1-2; 40:3-5; 59:19; 66:18).

A voice of one crying out in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the paths of our God. Every ravine shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill be made low, and all the crooked ways shall become straight, and the rough place shall become plains. Then *the glory of the Lord* [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] shall appear, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, because the Lord has spoken it. (Is 40:3-5 LXX NETS)

¹⁹³ This eschatological hope can also be seen in Isaiah 11:10: “There shall be on that day the root of Jessai, even the one who stands up to rule nations; *nations shall hope in him, and his rest shall be honor* [תַּמְהָ / תְּבוֹרָה]” (Is 11:10 LXX NETS). This passage is important to my thesis because Paul quotes it in Romans 15:12 and references it as the nations and/or Christ coming to glorify (δοξάζω) God. Notably, the LXX translation does not use *doxa* here, but *תַּמְהָ*. Therefore, it seems that Paul is possibly using the Hebrew text when commenting on Isaiah 11:10 in Romans 15:8-12. Elsewhere, the church that includes Jews and the nations is called the Lord’s eschatological *doxa*. For Paul, the church functions as the fulfillment of these promises (see chapter five).

¹⁹⁴ See also Isaiah 56:6-7 for a very similar kind of text without *kabod*, where foreigners will gather in the temple that is now called a house of prayer for all peoples.

¹⁹⁵ J. Severino Croatto challenges this view, saying, “The purpose of this study is to deconstruct the exegetical tradition that emphasizes the promise of universal salvation for the foreign nations in the book of Isaiah. The real message—scattered all along the book by its final author or Fourth Isaiah—is to affirm the liberation and return of the different Judean Diasporas. The nations as such, on the contrary, will receive the negative lot of the reversal of fortunes.” J. Severino Croatto, “The ‘nations’ in the Salvific Oracles of Isaiah,” *VT* 55 no 2 (April 2005), 161.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Is 24:23 LXX NETS. “Then the brick will be dissolved, and the wall will fall, because the Lord will reign in Sion and in Jerusalem, and before the elders he will *be glorified* [δοξασθήσεται].”

Isaiah 40 is an Exodus typology for Israel. It mixes pictures from Abrahamic and Davidic covenants as well as from the Sinai and royal motifs.¹⁹⁷ The Lord is coming back to take his residence in Jerusalem in a royal manner.¹⁹⁸ This event has, however, *a universal significance and scope*. Not only Israel and Jerusalem but also “every ravine” and “every mountain” shall be affected and “all flesh” shall see the *doxa* of the Lord.¹⁹⁹

Fourth, an eschatological temple is linked with the presence of the Lord and the universal scope of the *doxa*.²⁰⁰ This motif is found in several prophetic texts. Ezekiel’s message does not end with judgment and the departure of the Lord; rather the last vision of Ezekiel 40-48 concludes with restoration and hope. The Lord will return to the temple and fill it with His *doxa*, and indeed the whole earth will shine with His *doxa*:

Behold, *the glory of the God of Israel* [δόξα θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ] was coming by way of the gate that looks to the east, and there was a sound of the camp like a sound of many doubling up, and the earth was shining forth like splendor from the glory [δόξης] all around. And the appearance that I saw was like the appearance I saw when I was entering to anoint the city, and the appearance of the chariot that I saw was like the appearance that I saw at the river Chobar, and I fell upon my face. And *the glory of the Lord* [δόξα κυρίου] went into the house by the way of the gate that looks to the east. And a spirit took me up and brought me into the inner court, and behold, *the house was full of the glory of the Lord* [πλήρης δόξης κυρίου]. (Ezek 43:2-5 LXX NETS; cf. 44:4)

The book of Habakkuk also links the filling of the earth with the glory of the Lord in the temple in relation to judgment (see my earlier discussion on judgment and *doxa*). In the midst of predicting woes for the Babylonians, a passage in Habakkuk prophesies:

Because *the earth will be filled with knowing the glory of the Lord* [δόξαν κυρίου], like water it will cover them. “Ah he who by turbid upset gives his neighbor to drink and intoxicates him in order to gaze on their caverns.” Drink, you too, and abundance of dishonor from glory [δόξης], and shake, and quake! A cup in the Lord’s right hand has gone around to you, and dishonor has been gathered to your *glory* [δόξαν]. (Hab 2:14-16 LXX NETS)

¹⁹⁷ B. W. Anderson lists ten key passages in which Exodus typology occurs in Isaiah: 40:3-5; 41:17-20; 42:14-16; 43:1-3; 43:14-21; 48:20-21; 49:8-12; 51:9-10; 52:11-12; 55:12-13. B. W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage*, ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper and Bros., 1962), 181-184.

¹⁹⁸ According to Watts the wilderness spoken of here is in the southwest, the Arabah: “Lord [is] coming from Sinai or from Edor through the Arabah south of the Dead Sea to approach Jerusalem from the east.” John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, WBC 25 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 80.

¹⁹⁹ There is a well-documented complex engagement in Isaiah 40-55 between the judgment and destruction of the nations and the salvation and the hope of the nations. See Rikki Watts, “Echoes from the Past: Israel’s ancient traditions and the destiny of the nations in Isaiah 40-55,” *JSOT* 28 4 Je (2004): 481-508.

²⁰⁰ See Beale, *The Temple and the Church’s mission*. Beale develops the temple theme from Genesis through the Revelation.

The Lord will judge Babylon and there will be a day when the *doxa* of the Lord will fill the entire earth.²⁰¹ The eschatological hope is that God's judgment will cause shame for the Babylonians.

The texts found in Haggai and Zachariah command the people of God to rebuild the temple. The LXX translator of the book of Haggai uses the word glory three times, referring to the presence of the Lord in the temple:

Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory [ἐν τῇ δόξῃ]? And how do you see it now? As though it does not exist before you? And now, be strong, O Zorobabel, says the Lord, and be strong, O Iesous the son of Iosedek, the great priest, and let all the people of the land be strong, says the Lord, and act, for I am with you, says the Lord Almighty, and my spirit is present among you; have courage. For this is what the Lord Almighty says, Once again I will shake the sky and the earth and the sea and the dry *land*, and I will shake *all nations* [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη], and the choice things of *all the nations* [πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν] shall come: and *I will fill this house with splendor* [δόξης], says the Lord Almighty. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, says the Lord Almighty. For the last *splendor* [ἡ δόξα] of this house *shall be great beyond the first*, says the Lord Almighty. (Hag 2:3-9 LXX NETS)

The temple is the dwelling place of the *doxa* of God. The house built by Solomon was glorious, but the future house of *doxa* will be even more so. This future house will be the place where all the nations will bring their treasures. Here the author of Haggai links the eschatological hope of the Lord's presence to all nations through his *doxa*.²⁰² Similarly, Zachariah envisions the *doxa* of the Lord to be in the future in the midst of the entire expanded city of Jerusalem: "I [Lord] will be to her [Jerusalem] a wall of fire all around, declares the LORD, and I will be the glory [δόξαν] in her midst" (Zech 2:9). The presence of the glory of the Lord is again an eschatological hope not only for Israel but also for other nations (Zech 2:11).²⁰³

2.3.5. *Doxa* in People's Response to the Lord

One of the most common usages of *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures is one's response to the Lord. This usage occurs throughout the Septuagint and has at least four aspects.

The first aspect of response is that the experience of δόξα κυρίου causes the participants to physically bow down before the Lord. In the Pentateuch, we see an overwhelming response from humans. For example, after the *doxa* of the Lord encountered Moses, "quickly, bowing down to

²⁰¹ See Jim Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2010), 268-269.

²⁰² Cf. 1 Cor 3:9, 16-17; Rev 21:22-26. This use of glory is an example of a two-fold fulfillment from the New Testament perspective. Obviously, the author of Haggai is talking primarily about the temple that is to be built after the exile. However, the New Testament writers refer to this temple as Christ and the church and entails people from all nations.

²⁰³ See also Zechariah 2:8 for a difficult reading of δόξα.

the earth, Moses did obeisance” (Exod 34:8 LXX NETS; see also Lev 9:24). This response is emphatically stated in the book of Ezekiel. The inaugural vision of Ezekiel’s call (Ezek 1:1-3:27) is one of the most vivid, elaborate, complex, and carefully structured call narratives in the Old Testament. While the entire first chapter describes the magnificence of the Lord by using graphic language, the word *doxa* does not occur until the very end of the chapter:

Like an appearance of a bow whenever it is in the cloud in a day of rain, so was the vision of the radiance all around. *This is the appearance of a likeness of the glory of the LORD* [δόξης κυρίου], and when I looked and fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one speaking. (Ezek 1:28 LXX NETS)

Seeing a *likeness* of the *doxa* of the Lord causes Ezekiel to fall on his face in worship and adoration.²⁰⁴ The same response takes place at the end of the vision. Ezekiel is appointed as a watchman and a spokesperson for Israel. This appointment happens in the presence of the *doxa* of the Lord and causes Ezekiel to once again fall on his face.²⁰⁵ “I arose up and went out into the plain, and behold, *the glory of the Lord* [δόξα κυρίου] stood there, just like the *appearance* and just like *the glory* [ἡ δόξα] that I had seen by the Chobar, and *I fell upon my face*” (Ezek 3:23 LXX NETS). Not only in the opening call, but also in the eschatological temple episode Ezekiel reacts to beholding the *doxa* of the Lord by prostrating himself: “He brought me in by way of the gate to the north, opposite the house, and I looked, and behold, the house of the Lord was full of *the glory of the Lord* [δόξης ὁ οἶκος κυρίου], and I fell upon my face” (Ezek 44:4 LXX NETS).

The physical response can also take the form of death. On two occasions (Lev 10:1-3 and Num 16:42-49; 17:1-14 LXX) the Lord causes the death of people experiencing *doxa*. Nadab and Abihu are killed as a consequence of approaching the presence of the Lord without a command. The text comments, “Moses said to Aaron, ‘This is what the Lord spoke, saying, ‘Among those who are near me I will be shown holy, and in the whole congregation *I will be glorified* [δοξασθήσομαι].’ And Aaron was shocked” (Lev 10:3 LXX NETS). Similarly, as the *doxa* of the Lord appears, a plague kills 14,700 besides those 250 who had been killed because of the rebellion in Korah (Num 16:19-42).

²⁰⁴ Seyoon Kim and Alan Segal among others have emphasized the importance of the Ezekiel 1 vision as the background for Paul’s understanding of terms such as *doxa*. See Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 174-176; Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, SJLA 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Alan Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 39-41.

²⁰⁵ “Then the Spirit lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great earthquake: ‘Blessed be the glory of the LORD [Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου] from its place!’” (Ezek 3:12; cf. 1 Tim 1:11).

In the second aspect of response the Israelites are urged to recognize and praise the glory of God in different ways, most prominently in worship. Creatures respond to the *doxa* of God in several worshipful ways. The celestial beings (Ps 28:1-2 LXX), the families of the nations (Ps 95:7 LXX), and the kings from generation to generation (Ps 144:11; cf. Ps 71:8 LXX) respond to the *doxa* of God by bringing glory gifts, speaking to his name, giving glory, declaring his glory among the nations, fearing the name of the Lord, beholding his power and glory, perceiving, and singing of the *doxa* of God.²⁰⁶

Sometimes glory-giving happens in prophetic oracles in light of a coming judgment and a call for repentance.

Hear, and give ear; and do not be lifted up, because the LORD has spoken. *Give glory to the Lord your God* [δότε τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ὑμῶν δόξαν] before He brings darkness and before your feet stumble on dark mountains and you will wait for light, and a shadow of death is there and they shall be placed in darkness. (Jer 13:15-16 LXX NETS)

The Israelites are commanded to give *doxa* to the Lord before the judgment comes. The ultimate *doxa* belongs to the Lord, and all nations, including the Philistines and Israelites, are required to yield to him. Hezekiah likewise commands the people of Israel to turn to the Lord:

Give glory to the Lord God [δότε δόξαν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ], and enter his holy precinct, which he sanctified forever, and be subjected to the Lord, your God, and he will remove from you the anger of his wrath. (2 Chr 30:8 LXX NETS)

In Malachi the Lord requires *doxa*, respect, and honor from his own people:

A son *honors* [δοξάζει] his father, and a slave his master. If then I am a father, where is *my honor* [ἡ δόξα]? And if I am a master, where is my respect? Says the Lord Almighty to you. (Mal 1:6 LXX NETS; Mal 2:2)

As the third identifiable feature of response, the *doxa* is connected to affection and emotion. The current and eschatological hope of all the peoples is to see (Is 35:2; 40:5; 66:18-19) the *doxa* of the Lord and to rejoice with joy and singing. While terror, fear, and even death is associated

²⁰⁶ “Bring to the Lord, O divine sons, bring to the Lord, glory [δόξαν] and honor. Bring to the Lord glory [ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν] for his name; do obeisance to the Lord in his holy court” (Ps 28:1-2 LXX NETS). “The Lord’s voice, as he prepares deer, and he will uncover forests, and in his shrine every last one speaks of glory [δόξαν]” (Ps 28:9 LXX NETS). “Do make music [ψάλλετε] to his name; *give glory to his praise* [δότε δόξαν αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ]” (Ps 65:2 LXX NETS). “Bring to the Lord, O paternal families of the nations [αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν]; *bring to the Lord glory* [ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν] and honor. Bring to the Lord the glory due his name: raise offerings, and enter into his courts” (Ps 95:7-8 LXX NETS). “Declare [ἀναγγεῖλατε] his glory among the nations [ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ], among all the peoples his marvelous works, because great is the Lord and very much praiseworthy; he is terrible to all the gods” (Ps 95:3-4 LXX NETS; cf. 1 Chr 16:23-29; Is 42:12). “The nations [τὰ ἔθνη] will fear (φοβηθήσονται) the name of the Lord, and all the kings of your glory [δόξαν σου], because the Lord will build Sion, and he will be seen in his glory” [ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ] (Ps 101:15-17 LXX NETS; cf. 71:11 LXX). “So I appeared to you in the holy place to behold [ιδεῖν] your power and your glory [τὴν δόξαν σου]” (Ps 62:3 LXX NETS). “The heavens proclaimed his righteousness, and all the peoples beheld [εἶδον] his glory [τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ]” (Ps 96:6 LXX NETS).

with *doxa*, the eschatological hope is often communicated through the emotionally positive language attached to *doxa*. Psalm 103:31 LXX describes how the Lord finds joy in his own works in relation to *doxa*: “Let *the glory of the Lord* [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] be forever. The Lord will be glad [εὐφρανθήσεται] at his works” (Ps 103:31 LXX NETS). Furthermore, the eventual hope of the people of God is pictured in Isaiah as joy, delight, and gladness when encountering the *doxa* of the Lord or the *doxa* of Israel.²⁰⁷

These will cry aloud with their voice [βοάω], but those who are left in the land will *rejoice together in the glory of the Lord* [εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου]. The water of the sea shall be troubled. Therefore *the glory of the Lord* [ἡ δόξα κυρίου] will be in the islands of the sea; the name of the Lord will be *glorious* [ἐνδοξον]. (Is 24:14-15 LXX NETS)

The deserted places of the Jordan shall blossom and be glad. And *the glory* [ἡ δόξα] of Lebanon has been given to it, as well as the honor of Carmel, and my people shall see *the glory of the Lord* [ὁ λαός μου ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου] and the loftiness of God. (Is 35:2 LXX NETS; cf. Is 66:10-11)²⁰⁸

The psalmist and other covenant people rejoiced and found gladness in the glory of Lord as well (Ps 20:5-7 LXX). As we saw earlier, the Lord bestows *doxa* on a king in Psalm 20:5 LXX. The following verse states how this glory makes the king glad: “*Glory* [δόξα] and magnificence you will bestow on Him. Because you will give him a blessing forever and ever, you will make him glad with joy through your presence” (Ps 20:5-7 LXX NETS). Similarly, seeing God’s face feeds the observer: “I shall appear to your face in righteousness; I shall be fed when *your glory appears* [χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου]”; (Ps 16:15 LXX NETS). *Doxa* is a blessing, bringing gladness and due honor to the presence with the Lord.

Joyful response to the *doxa* of the Lord is not found only in the midst of comfortable circumstances. The covenant people cry and lament in the midst of turmoil and sorrow to find their confidence in the glory of God (Ps 3:3; 25:8 LXX; cf. 1 Sam 22:1-5).²⁰⁹ In Psalm 3, the Lord functions as the psalmist’s personal glory at a time of trouble as hostile people surround him. The *doxa* of the Lord protects the psalmist during this difficult time. In Psalm 25:8 LXX the psalmist finds his comfort in the habitation of the Lord’s house, the place where His *doxa* dwells, at the moment of false accusations. In Psalm 62 LXX the psalmist reminds himself of beholding the sanctuary, the dwelling place of the glory of the Lord and power at the moment of trouble. He expresses ultimate satisfaction and joy that is found in the presence of the Lord (Ps 62:3, 5, 7 LXX).

²⁰⁷ See also other emotional language, relating to fear and trembling, in Isaiah 6:3.

²⁰⁸ See also Isaiah 61:6-7, which talks about everlasting joy without direct reference to glory (cf. Is 56:5-8), and 66:5, which is a sarcastic comment from self-righteous people.

²⁰⁹ Longman, “The Glory of God in the Old Testament,” 63-64.

2.3.6. Summary of the Use of *Doxa* in the Septuagint

According to Paul, Israel received *doxa* (Rom 9:4). What is he thinking of? The purpose of this section was to map out both the wide semantic range of *doxa* and the various ways that *doxa* is used in the Septuagint.

First, the wide semantic range of *doxa* includes descriptions such as honor, beauty, strength, heaviness, brightness, and visibility. *Kabod*, the Hebrew word most commonly translated as *doxa*, usually has a positive connotation of honor. Twenty-nine other Hebrew words were occasionally translated as *doxa* as well, widening the meaning to include material well-being, beauty, negative identity of pride, and honor gained through humility.

Second, one can distinguish five aspects regarding the use of *doxa* in the Septuagint: (1) *doxa* is used in the profane sense in reference to a person's or a nation's wealth, beauty, or honor; (2) *doxa* is associated with the intrinsic character, identity, and *theophany* of the Lord; in other words, the glory of the Lord refers both to his aesthetic brightness and his moral character. The Lord manifests himself in holiness, in his superiority over other gods, requires total surrender to his *doxa*, and is linked to certain locations, namely, the tabernacle, (the holy place of the temple), the temple, and the entire earth; (3) *doxa* is also attributed to Moses, to Adam, to the kings, and to Israel. While the relationship between the Lord's intrinsic glory and the glory attributed to other characters is ambivalent, it is the Lord that crowns, gives and bestows glory to them; (4) there is an eschatological anticipation of the vindication of the Lord of *doxa* that takes place through the eschatological Servant and restores the derived glory displayed in the life of Israel and the covenant community; (5) *doxa* characterizes people's response to and worship of the Lord.

2.4. *Doxa* in Second Temple Literature

In this section, I will give the main categories of how *doxa* was used in Second Temple literature. Paul was probably aware of many of the motifs found in writings that reflect a Jewish tradition in his own era. James Harrison in his recent study has made a separate analysis of each of these literature types.²¹⁰ Following the direction of his work, I will note the similarities and new developments between the Old Testament and the Second Temple Literature. I will intentionally focus on one of the developments, already found in the Old Testament, but developed in the Qumran texts.

²¹⁰ Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, 242-254.

Many, if not all, of the *doxa* motifs already found in the Hebrew Bible can also be discovered in later Jewish books:²¹¹ (1) the *theophanic doxa* (including the Sinaitic glory interpretation) also appears in later Judaism;²¹² (2) the intrinsic character of the Lord described through *doxa* is highlighted in these writings;²¹³ (3) the *doxa* of the Lord's temple or the throne is prevalent in the apocryphal books,²¹⁴ in the Dead Sea scrolls²¹⁵ and in the work of Josephus;²¹⁶ (4) the derivative extension of the *doxa* of the Lord to the Israelites is also found in Apocryphal literature;²¹⁷ (5) the eschatological anticipation of the vindication of the *doxa* of the Lord is also found in Jewish Second Temple literature.²¹⁸

New developments that are virtually non-existent in the Old Testament are (1) the glorious role of the angels, which is found in Apocryphal literature, especially in Tobit²¹⁹ and later Judaism,²²⁰ and (2) more detailed accounts of the *doxa* that dwelled in the heavens or heaven.²²¹

One significant aspect of Pauline *doxa* theology is the notion that was already found in the Jewish Scriptures and developed in Second Temple Judaism. The *doxa* of the Lord that is derivatively bestowed on God's people, starting from Adam, will be restored *and* completed in the

²¹¹ According to Newman, all "various construals of the Glory traditions, as identified in the Hebrew Bible, were preserved, nourished, and developed by early Jewish tradents." Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 132.

²¹² E.g. 1 QH III: 32-36; 4 QDibHamfr. 6 ii; 1 A34 ii; Jub. 1:2-4; 2 Macc 2:1-8; Sir 17:13. Sirach 17:13 is a Genesis tradition that mentions δόξα twice as the object of humans seeing and hearing. See Jessi Orpana, "Reception of the Creation of Humanity: Transmission and Interpretation of the Creation Traditions in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature" (ThD diss., University of Helsinki, 2016), 60-70.

²¹³ The king of *doxa*: 1 QM xii 6-11; Sir 42:15-43:33; 1 QH I 1:39; The *doxa* of his wisdom: 1 Esdr 4:29; Wis 7:25; 10:14; 4 Macc 1:12; the *doxa* of his name: Pr Azar 1:3; 3 Macc 2:9; his universal *doxa*: Pr Azar 1:22; 1 Macc 15:9; the dishonoring of his *doxa* in idolatry: Wis 15:9.

²¹⁴ E.g. Jdt 9:8; 1 Macc 1:40; 2:8; 2 Macc 5:16, 20; 3 Macc 2:9, 14-17; Sir 44:1-50:29 esp. 49:8, 12; 50:7; Tob 14:5; Pss. Sol. 11:6-8.

²¹⁵ E.g. 4 Q400 (4QShirShabb Frag. 1 col. 1 ll 4, 7-9); 4 Q521 (4 QFlor [MidrEschat] 1/5); 11 QT XXIX II 7-10. On theology regarding "temple," see Raur A.L.A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Peeters, 2006), 75-114. I am indebted to Harrison for this reference.

²¹⁶ E.g. Josephus, *Ant.* 8:106.

²¹⁷ 1 Esd 5:61; 9:8; Tob 13:14, 16; Bar 5:9; 3 Macc 2:16.

²¹⁸ Bar 5:1-9 (cf. Is 40:4); 4 Macc 18:24; Tob 14:5; Pss. Sol. 17:30-32; Klaus Koch describes the glory tradition in Jewish apocalypses: "The catchword *glory* is used wherever the final state of affairs is set apart from the present and whenever a final amalgamation of the earthly and heavenly spheres is prophesied. Glory is the portion of those who have been raised from the dead, who will thus become as the angels or the stars of heaven (Dan 12.3; I En. 50.1; 41.40). Glory is then the mark not only of man, however, but also of conditions, the 'state' in which they live, the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:1ff; I Bar 32.4), or of the eschatological ruler (II Bar 30.1) who is above them." See Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemic Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*, SBT 2/22 (London: SCM, 1972), 32. See also Preston Sprinkle, "The Afterlife in Romans: Understanding Paul's Glory Motif in Light of the Apocalypse of Moses and 2 Baruch," in *Lebende Hoffnung – Ewiger Tod?! Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und und Christentum*, ed. M. Labahn and M. Lang (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2008): 201-233.

²¹⁹ Tob 17:11, 15.

²²⁰ Gk. Apoc. Ezra 3:8; Mart. Ascen Isa 9:33-36; 3 Bar 13:4; Lad. Jac. 2:15.

²²¹ E.g. 1QS (1QS X. 1.3); 1QM (1QMWasScroll XII I, 2). See also Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity, and Their Environment," 1333-1394.

eschaton. Harrison contends, “Given the strength and ubiquity of this [glory of Adam] tradition in Second Temple Judaism, it is surprising that Paul bypasses any mentions of Adam’s original glory in Romans.”²²² I disagree with Harrison on this understanding and try to show later that *Paul does not bypass this tradition in Romans or elsewhere*.

There are indeed a great number of references to show the development of this notion of Adam’s glory in Jewish literature; some are included only in the Septuagint (outside of the Hebrew Bible translation), others are found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and still others appear in the later Jewish Pseudepigrapha. We see this in Sirach, where many Israelites are credited with *doxa*: Adam, Shem, and Seth (Sir 49:15-16); Moses (Sir 45:2, 3), the high priests Aaron (Sir 45:20) and Phinehas (Sir 45:23), and David (Sir 47:6).²²³ In this tradition Adam seems to function as an example for the rest of the heroic characters because his image and glory mirrored those of God.²²⁴ It is worth quoting Sirach 49:15-16: “Shem and Seth were glorified [ἐδόξασθησαν] among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in the creation” (Sir 49:16 my translation). Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, likewise links *doxa* to even more numerous Israelite heroes.²²⁵

Adam was glorified *and* will be glorified in the minds of Jewish writers. The *Apocalypse of Moses* (the Latin version is called *The Life of Adam and Eve*), a Jewish document probably from the first century, records Adam possessing a special glory from God, which he lost in the fall.²²⁶

And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, “Why have you done this to me in that I have been estranged from my *glory* [δόξης] with which I was clothed?” (Apoc. Mos. 20:1-2)

And I cried out with a loud voice, saying, “Adam, Adam, where are you? Rise, come to me and I will show you a great mystery.” And when your father came, I spoke to him unlawful

²²² Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, 239.

²²³ Possibly also 4 Macc 18:23-24 and Wis 7:25.

²²⁴ Eric Noffke, “Man of Glory or First Sinner? Adam in the Book of Sirach,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 119 no 4 (2007): 618-624. See also James K. Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory’ in Ben Sira: Traces of a Development in Post-Biblical Hebrew,” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1-24.

²²⁵ Abraham (*The Antiquities of the Jews* 1.165); Jacob (1:275); Moses (2:205); Joshua (3:51; 5:115); Japheth (5:267); Samuel (5:351); Abinadab (6:18); Saul (6:80, 144, 368); Jonathan (7:304); Jehoshaphat (8:394; 9:16); Shallun (10:59); Esdras (11:158); Josph (12:160, 191, 350); Onias (13:63); Herod (14:398); Phasaelus (15:13, 316); Manahem 15:376; Agrippa (18:129); Ananias (20:205). Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, 245, fn. 159.

²²⁶ It is hotly debated whether *Life of Adam and Eve* is a Christian composition that originated as late as the third century AD or is of first-century Jewish origin. See John R. Levison, “Adam and Eve in Romans 1:18-25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,” *NTS* 50 (2004): 519-534. We can see a similar kind of phenomena in the second-century Jewish pseudepigrapha 3 Baruch written in Greek. “Adam through this tree was condemned and was stripped from the glory of God (τῆς δόξης θεοῦ ἐγρυμνώθη), and this way the people who have come from him drinking the insatiably the wine, have become far from the glory of God (τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δόξης), and are surrounding themselves to the eternal fire” (3 Bar. 4:16). See Raurell, “The Religious Meaning of ‘Doxa’ in the Book of Wisdom,” 370-383, 377; J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988).

words of transgression such as brought us *down from great glory* [δόξης]...“O evil woman! Why have you wrought destruction among us? You *have estranged me from the glory of God* [ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ].” (Apoc. Mos. 21:1-2, 6)²²⁷

In the Dead Sea Scrolls (the Community Rule; 1 QS and the Hodayot; 1 QH), Adam is made in the image of the Lord’s glory (*kabod*). On one hand, the original glory of Adam and the glory of the land in which he is living are affirmed.²²⁸

“You fashioned [Adam,] our [fa]ther, in the *image of [Your] glory* [כבוד] the breath of life] you [br]eathed into his nostrils, [and filled him] with understanding and knowledge. Y[ou] set him to rule [over the gar]den of Eden that You had planted.] and to walk about in a glorious land.” (4Q504 [4QDibHam-a] I: 4-7).

On the other hand, in the following references, all the glory of Adam clearly points to eschatological glory. After they have been granted forgiveness of sins, the chosen ones will inherit an everlasting covenant that gives them healing, peace, blessing, endless and long life, namely a crown of glory, the new creation.

Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and *all the glory of Adam* [כבוד] is for them. (CD Col III:17-20)

[Forgiving every] transgression and casting away all [the]ir i[n]iquities], giving them *all the glory of Adam* [כבוד] as an inheritance [along with] long life. (1 QH 4:15)

The “reward” of the “sons of truth” will be healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, *eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory* [כבוד] with majestic raiment in eternal life. (1 QS 4:6-8)

For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong *all the glory of Adam* [כבוד]...For God has sorted them into equal parts until the appointed and *the new creation*. (1 QS 4:23-25; cf. *a glorious Eden* [כבוד] in 1 QH 16:16-20)

²²⁷ See also the Latin version of *The Life of Adam and Eve* 16:1. “And God the Lord was wrathful with me and banished me and my angels from *our glory*; and on thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of *so great glory*. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, *as I have been driven out of my glory*.” The devil lost his glory as well in the Latin version of *The Life of Adam and Eve* 12:1; 17:1.

²²⁸ So also Noah, “because glory [] to glorify God in [he] shall be lifted up in glorious honour, and glory [he shall be glorified among [the Sons of H]eaven.” (1QNoah 19 13-14:1-3). Meyer refutes against any assumption that “this text refers to a supernatural possession of glory which is subsequently lost.” While I mainly agree with his thesis that in the Hodayot and in the letters of Paul, Adam’s glory refers to the eschatological transformation, he seems to overlook this text and some other Jewish and Pauline texts that also mention the glory that was lost. Meyer, “Adam’s Dust and Adam’s Glory: Rethinking Anthropogony and Theology in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul,” 70 fn. 155.

According to Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, the eschatological destiny of the sons of light and the faithful ones will be restoration to the original glory.²²⁹ However, George van Kooten²³⁰ and Nicholas Meyer have convincingly argued that Adam's eschatological glory in the Hodayot is not merely a restoration back to the Edenic glory of Qumranic anthropogony; rather it is the *completion* of an intended development. Meyer states:

The tension within this anthropology does not fit the pattern of creation-fall-restoration... Instead one finds in the TST, for example, intention-beginning-history-fruition, and the Hodayot appear to cohere with this schematic by the persistent depreciation of the *adam-of-dust* and flesh vis-à-vis the glorious destiny God has in mind for elect humanity... The tension is an expression of a predetermined design, whose beginning in time (*adam-of-dust*) already looks forward to an end-time ideal (*adam-of-glory*).²³¹

Moreover, the Hodayot include a remarkable self-glorification psalm rendered by a priest-like²³² and/or messianic figure. Interestingly, for the purpose of this study, this figure exalts himself (4QH 1 6-7). Furthermore, John C. O'Neill has argued that in one Qumran text (4Q491), the eschatological son of God possesses the superior glory (*kabod*)²³³ that is to be acknowledged by the other sons of king.

²²⁹ See Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), especially 91-103; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 185-198; Alexander Golitzin, "Recovering the 'Glory of Adam': 'Divine Light' Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Ascetical literature of Fourth-Century Syro-Mesopotamia," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, ed. Kames R. Davila (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 275-308. This article compares the glory of Adam motif found in the Dead Sea Scrolls to the fourth-century Christian literature found in Syro-Mesopotamia. See also George J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-132.

²³⁰ George van Kooten says, "Since the 'configuration of man' was dual from the outset (Col. IV 20-21), when God placed two spirits in Adam (Col. III 17-18), it seems to be only the latter day Qumranic Adam who has the evil spirit ripped out 'from the innermost part of his flesh' (Col. IV 20-21); to him belongs 'all the glory of Adam', i.e. a glory exceeding the still limited glory of the first Adam." Van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context*, 20. See also 7-47.

²³¹ Meyer, "Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory: Rethinking Anthropogony and Theology in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul," 94.

²³² See also Joseph Angel, "The Liturgical-Eschatological Priest of the Self-Glorification Hymn," *Revue de Qumran* 24 (2010): 585-605.

²³³ J. C. O'Neill, "'Who Is Comparable to Me in My Glory?' 4Q491 Fragment 11 (4Q491C) and the New Testament," *NovT* 42 (2000): 24-39. The book of 1 Enoch from the post-Maccabean era (especially chapters 102-105) has a vivid description of the eschatological hope of the presence of the glory of the Lord shared among the righteous people and with his son. "In those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect, And the light of days shall abide upon them, And glory and honor shall turn to the holy...He is righteous also in His judgment, And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself: At His judgment the unrepentant shall perish before Him. And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, said the Lord of Spirits" (1 En. 50:1,4). "Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honored and Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you. I know a mystery. And have read the heavenly tablets, And have seen the holy books, And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them: That all goodness and joy and glory [ἡ τιμὴ] are prepared for them, And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labors, And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living. And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One. Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely" (1 En. 103:1-

Philo of Alexandria developed a two-Adam model comparing Genesis 1:27 to 2:7 (see my discussion in chapter 4). Quite surprisingly, in Philo δόξα in general takes a negative connotation, indicating the deification of the created world and Egyptian and Roman idolatry,²³⁴ and thus does not play a significant role in our study on the semantic level regarding Adam figures.

4). "In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth. *For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness*" (1 En. 105:1-2). Eric Noffke also refers to chapters 83-90 as the description of Adam as "white as snow" (1 En. 85:3). He suggests the Jewish tradition that considered Adam a glorious first man to be an even older tradition than the Genesis 2-3 tradition. Besides references found in Sirach 49, he mentions Ezekiel 28:11-19 and Job 15:7 as evidence for his suggestion. Noffke claims, "In later tradition this picture of a glorious Adam came to be neglected, and he became, from the apostle Paul on, the first sinner blamed for the corruption of the present aeon." See Eric Noffke, "Man of Glory or First Sinner? Adam in the Book of Sirach," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. See also Harold J. Ellens, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Son of Man in Daniel, 1 Enoch, and the New Testament Gospels: An Assessment of 11QM^{elch} (11Q13)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 341-363.

²³⁴ See Karl-Gustav Sandelin, "The Danger of Idolatry According to Philo of Alexandria," *Temenos* 27 (1991): 109-150.

Adam-glory kinds of descriptions can also be found in the first-century pseudepigraphical text 2 Baruch²³⁵ and in a Jewish apocalypse 4 Ezra,²³⁶ written sometime after 70 AD. These writings among other rabbinic texts,²³⁷ however, came after Paul's letters.

To summarize, Second Temple Jewish literature contains all the same glory-motifs found in earlier Jewish Scriptures. However, a motif where the *doxa* was granted derivatively to Adam and would later be *completed even to a greater degree* by an eschatological messianic figure was later developed in Jewish thought and played a part in first-century Jewish understanding. Therefore, it was possibly also an existing background and pre-understanding for Pauline anthropology, eschatology, and his theology of *doxa*.

²³⁵“For this world is to them [righteous] a struggle and an effort and much trouble. And that accordingly which will come, *a crown with great glory*” (2 Bar 15:8); “Now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous. And I will recount their blessedness *and not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them*. For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which ye live, ye have endured much labour, So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light” (2 Bar 48:48-50). Daniel Kirk, *Unlocking Romans: Resurrection and the Justification of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 152 also points this out.

²³⁶ “The fourth order (is): they understand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness guarded by angels, and *the glory* [gloriam] which awaits them at *their latter end*. The fifth order (is): they *rejoice that they have now escaped what is corruptible*, and that they shall inherit that which is to come; and moreover that they see *the straightness and painfulness* from which they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined to receive with enjoyment and immortality. The sixth order: that it is shown unto them how their face is destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made *like the light of the stars, henceforth incorruptible*” (4 Ezra 7:95-97). “The present age is not the End; *the glory of God* abides not therein continuously: therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the Day of Judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein corruption is passed away, weakness is abolished, infidelity is cut off; while *righteousness is grown, and faithfulness is sprung up*. So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgment, nor overwhelm him who is *victorious*” (4 Ezra 7:113-115). “And that *the glory of the Most High* is to defend them who have led a pure life, whereas we have walked in ways most wicked? And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and healing, shall be made manifest, but we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives in unseemly manners? And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness?” (4 Ezra 7:122-125). “But even on this account thou shalt be honourable before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, and hast not assigned thyself a place among the righteous; and *so thou shalt receive the greater glory* [glorificeris]. For with many afflictions shall they be afflicted that inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. *Think of thine own case, and of them who are like thyself* [Ezra] *search out the glory* [gloriam]. For you is opened paradise, planted the Tree of Life; the future age prepared, plenteousness made ready; a city built, a rest appointed; good works established, wisdom preconstituted; The (evil) root is sealed up from you, infirmity from your path extinguished; And death is hidden, Hades fled away; corruption forgotten, sorrows passed away; and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest. Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty they despised the Most High; scorned his Law, and forsook his ways” (4 Ezra 8:48-56). There is no extant Greek manuscript of the 4 Ezra document. The Latin Vulgate text was either translated from the Hebrew or Aramaic or from translated Greek texts.

²³⁷ See Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 26-27, 48.

2.5. The Greco-Roman Use of *Doxa*

Because Paul lived in the Greco-Roman culture, his vocabulary and theology reflect and respond to contemporary non-Jewish thought as well. Harrison²³⁸ argues that in addition to the eschatological hope regarding glory found in the Septuagint and in Second Temple Judaism,²³⁹ the contemporary political and cultural environment surfaces as a background for the Pauline comprehension of *doxa*. According to Harrison, there were two important and distinctive backgrounds for the convention of *doxa* in Roman society: the Roman elites' employment of the terminology of glory in connection with ancestral honor,²⁴⁰ and the arising imperial power in the house of Caesar that possessed glory.²⁴¹ In other words, the ascending authority structure and the dominance of the emperor cult in the Roman Empire, being in flux from the time of the early days of the Republic is the first-century cultural context for Paul's usage of *doxa*.²⁴²

While some philosophers had a negative view of glory,²⁴³ the ancestral glory possessed by the Roman nobility in the late Republic during the late 50s was desirable according to many such as Cicero and Sallust. Harrison claims that this functions as an important background for the churches with which Paul interacted. The noble men who possessed *gloria* were considered immortal. The men of *gloria* were men of light and virtue:

The *glory of the ancestors* [maiorum gloria] is, as it were, a light shining upon their posterity, suffering neither *virtues* nor their faults to be hidden. (Sallust, *Iug.* 85:23)

For though consciousness will have gone, nevertheless the dead, unconscious though they be, are not without their own peculiar blessing of fame and glory [laudis et gloriae]. There is, it may be, nothing in glory [gloria] that we should desire it, but nonetheless it follows virtue like a shadow...far more slowly will the glory [fama] fade of Curios, Fabricius, Catalinus, the two Scipios, the two Africani, Maximus, Marcellus, Paullus, Cato, Laelius, and countless others; he who has once managed to gain some shadow of resemblance to these men, measuring it not by popular repute, but by the genuine approval of good men

²³⁸ Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, 201-269. See also Jon E. Lendon, *Empire of Honor: The Art of Government in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997). I am indebted to Harrison for the following examples.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 232-262.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 205-225

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 225-232.

²⁴² Harrison, "Paul and the Roman Ideal of Glory in the Epistle to the Romans," 329-369. Halvor Moxnes points out the importance of honour culture for the background for Paul's letter to Romans. See Halvor Moxnes, "Honour and righteousness in Romans," *JSNT* 32 (Feb 1988): 61-77. Cf. Bruce W. Winter, *Divine Honours for the Caesars: The First Christians' Responses* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015).

²⁴³ Harrison does not discuss glory language in Dio Chrysostom or in Plutarch, but summarizes, "Dio Chrysostom dismissed the acquisition of glory as imprudent and transient and indifferent from a Cynic point of view. Dio Chrysostom, *peri dokses* (Or. 66-68)." Plutarch dismissed the possessing of glory as well: "It is necessary indeed, for a political leader should prevail by reason of this eloquence, but ignore for him to admire and crave the glory that springs from his eloquence (τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν)." Plutarch, *Comp. Dem. Cic.* 2.3.

will with confident spirit, if so it is to be, advance to meet death. (Cicero, *Tusc.* 1:46.109-110)

The “glory of the ancestors” [*gloria maiorum*] was an admirable virtue because it enabled senators to rule the republican state profitably. Therefore glory should be pursued by all.

Harrison also shows unequivocally that Roman rulers were described as *possessing the glory* in imperial-favored literature. For example, in his poetry, Martial describes Domitian calling himself the glory: “Caesar, the world’s sure salvation, glory of the earth (*terrarium gloria*), whose safety is our assurance that the great god’s exist.”²⁴⁴ Moreover, according to Suetonius, Augustus comments on his own generosity: “My generosity will exalt me to *immortal glory* [*me ad caelestum gloriam efferet*].”²⁴⁵ Consequently, Harrison posits that Paul sees participation in the attitude of the boasting culture of late republican and early imperial society as wrong.²⁴⁶

In addition to Harrison, Hellerman has suggested that the honor system of the Emperor played an important role in the proper socio-historical setting in Philippi. ²⁴⁷ According to Hellerman, the fact that “Christ is presented in the passage [Philippians 2] in contrast to the Roman emperor and to imperial ideology can no longer be disputed.”²⁴⁸

It thus seems helpful, strategic, and self-evident to use glory to oppose the present and realized glories of ancestral nobility and the “godship” of Caesars and to speak for the *doxa* of Israel’s God and his eschatological vindication. The way Paul uses the word *doxa* seems to fit very well within the context. The believers with Roman and Philippian²⁴⁹ background would have understood the clear difference between the glory of the immortal God and the glory of emperors. No Pauline letter, however, not even Romans or Philippians, makes an explicit or direct mention of these Roman glories. If Paul intentionally chose to use the word *doxa* for Roman political polemic reasons, why did he not make a noticeable remark about them?

Despite feasible arguments for the Pauline background, I disagree with Harrison regarding his understanding of Romans 3:23: “In the view of Paul, humanity falls far short of the ‘glory of God.’ This is not because the apostle is somehow referring to the loss of the glory that Adam

²⁴⁴ Martial, *Spect* 2.91. Moyer V. Hubbard makes the same observation. Moyer V. Hubbard, *A Narrative Introduction: Christianity on the Greco-Roman World* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2010), 129.

²⁴⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars – The Deified Augustus*, LXXI.

²⁴⁶ Mark Reasoner has provided a helpful sourcebook of Roman imperial texts that describe the nature of emperor worship in the 1st century. Mark Reasoner, *Roman Imperial Texts: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013).

²⁴⁷ Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

²⁴⁹ Hellerman does not directly discuss the *doxa* motif in Philippians, but his discussion on Philippians 2 has implications for my thesis.

possessed at creation before the fall.”²⁵⁰ According to Harrison, Romans 3:23 refers mainly to the background of Roman culture and the imperial cult. I will argue later that Romans 1:23 and 3:23 refer to both the Adam and Israel narratives and are designed to confront the contemporary Emperor worship. Paul, rooted in LXX traditions of divine glory, confronts the adoration of the Emperor’s glory.

2.6. Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the background for Paul’s use of *doxa*. He says in Romans 9:4 that Israel received glory. To what is Paul referring? This question led us to examine the semantic range and the characters associated with the *doxa*. Therefore, I interacted with three types of literature: the Septuagint, later Jewish literature, and first-century Greco-Roman texts. The following four points were discovered in this chapter:

1. Because Paul was greatly influenced by the *doxa* tradition from the Jewish Scriptures, the primary purpose of this chapter was to discover the semantic range and the various usages of *doxa* in the Septuagint. The initial examination showed that there is a wide semantic range covered by the different Hebrew words translated as *doxa* in the Septuagint. The translators had a tendency to translate *kabod* as *doxa* in the context of its positive connotations. While the word that is most commonly translated *doxa* is *kabod* and its derivatives, there are twenty-nine (29) other Hebrew words translated as *doxa*. Thus, the semantic range of *doxa* was not limited to honor, but also includes the following connotations: “aesthetic beauty,” “riches and wealth,” either figurative or literal “majestic strength,” “a visible manifestation,” “separateness and holiness,” and “a form and likeness.”
2. After examining the semantic range, I discussed the various uses of *doxa*. Paul not only inherited the semantic range of *doxa* from the Septuagint, but also the characters, events, and trajectories that were associated with this word. I suggest that they form a *collective narrative* that Paul consequently redefined, interpreted, and applied to his own context in light of the Christ-event. The first use of *doxa* is the profane sense in reference to a person’s or a nation’s material wealth, beauty, identity, or honor.

The most pervasive use of *doxa*, however, is in association with the character, identity, and *theophany* of the Lord. In other words, *the glory of the Lord refers both to His aesthetic brightness and to His moral character*. The Lord manifests Himself in holiness, in His superiority over other gods, requires total surrender to his *doxa*, and is linked to certain locations, namely, the tabernacle, (the holy place of the temple), the temple, and the entire earth;

Next, *doxa was attributed to Adam, the royal kings, Israel, and to the eschatological Servant*. This glory was given, crowned and bestowed by the Lord. While the relationship between the Lord’s own intrinsic glory and glory that He gives remains

²⁵⁰ Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome*, 264-275.

ambivalent, all the characters given the glory function as the Lord's image-bearer or his kingly representative. There is also an anticipation of the vindication of the Lord of *doxa* and the restoration of the derived glory displayed in the life of Israel and her kings through the eschatological Servant. Moreover, God's *doxa* is manifested in the Exodus narrative as well as being anticipated in the return from exile. Finally, *doxa* is also used as the people's response to and worship of the Lord in Jewish writings.

3. The later Jewish literature did not drop any of the motifs found in the Hebrew Bible or Septuagint. Rather, the Adam-*doxa* motif emerged and was developed, where the *doxa* was granted *derivatively* to Adam and would later be *completed to an even greater degree* by an eschatological messianic figure.
4. Finally, I briefly explored the use and influence of glory in the Roman first-century political arena in light of the Pauline *doxa* motif. While I do not agree with every point, Harrison's thesis that glory was used as an honorary title for ancestral positions as well in the imperial cult, including emperor worship, is convincing. The contemporary Greco-Roman use of glory denoted *honor* to the noble man and emperors; thus, they were considered immortal and god-like.

While Paul, a studious man from Tarsus²⁵¹ according to Luke, a citizen of Rome, and an apostle to the nations, may have been partly influenced by his contemporary Greco-Roman surroundings, I argued that Paul inherited the semantic range and meanings essentially from the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and, potentially, from other Second Temple Literature.

Next I will turn to the core of the research problem, namely how in his writings Paul receives and redefines the Jewish tradition of the *doxa* motif in light of the Christ-event.

²⁵¹ Stanley E. Porter, "Paul and Scripture Seminar" *SBL 2006 Annual Meeting Seminar Papers*, July 21, 2015, <http://www.westmont.edu/~fisk/paulandscripture/Porter.html>.

3. ADAM AS THE IMAGE AND *DOXA* OF GOD

“We beasts remember, even if Dwarfs forget, that Narnia was never right
except when a son of Adam was king.”²⁵²

-Trufflehunter the badger in *Prince Caspian*

“He [man] is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man.”²⁵³

-Apostle Paul

3.1. Introduction

In the recent past, the importance of Paul’s Greco-Roman thought has been emphasized as the interpretative key for Pauline anthropology. Some have suggested that mystery religions and contemporary philosophies, such as Stoicism or Platonic thought²⁵⁴ provide the pivotal context for understanding Paul correctly. Indeed, such studies have their place because they enlighten us about the context within which Paul lived, talked, and wrote.

The sole emphasis on contemporary thought, however, may cause biblical interpreters to neglect considering that Paul inherited his Scriptures from Jewish thought. I showed in my background a rich understanding of *doxa* from the Jewish Scriptures. The essential and intrinsic character of God was described as *doxa*. The Lord also gave, granted and crowned *doxa* to Moses, to Adam, to Israel’s king, to Israel herself, and to the eschatological Servant. Finally, there was an eschatological expectation of the vindication of the glory of the Lord.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how Paul understood Adam (i.e. humanity) as the *doxa* and image (εἰκὼν)²⁵⁵ of God. Paul’s understanding of humankind after God’s image and *doxa*

²⁵² C. S. Lewis, *Prince Caspian* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1951), 69. I am indebted to J. R. Daniel Kirk for this reference.

²⁵³ 1 Cor 11:7.

²⁵⁴ See S. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999); Troels Engberg-Pedersen suggests that Stoicism has significantly influenced Paul: Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology & Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Van Kooten has suggested that Pauline anthropology has been influenced by Platonic thought on the image of, and assimilation to, God. Van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context*. See also George H. Van Kooten, “Pagan and Jewish Monotheism according to Varro, Plutarch and St Paul: The Aniconic, Monotheistic Beginnings of Rome’s Pagan Cult – Romans 1.19-25 in a Roman Context,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech & E. Tigchelaar (Boston: Brill, 2007), 633-651.

²⁵⁵ For Paul, the semantic field of the image of God is not limited to the use of εἰκὼν. Van Kooten has argued convincingly “that the notion of the image of God not only comprises the terminology of ‘image’ but also that of μορφή (‘form’) and its cognate terms μορφόμαι (‘take on form, be formed’), σύμμορφος (‘having the same form, similar in form’), συμμορφίζομαι (‘be conformed to, take on the same form as’), and, last but not least, μεταμορφόμαι (‘be transformed, be changed into the same form’).” Van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context*, 70. The active verbal forms μορφόω, συμμορφίζω, and μεταμορφόω should also be included in this list. Jacob Jervell showed as early as 1960 the synonymous character of εἰκὼν and δόξα in Judaism. Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den Paulinischen Briefen*, FRLANT 58 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 100-113.

in light of both Jewish and Greco-Roman thought plays a significant role in his *doxa* motif. For Paul, the role of Adam in the creation story, as the representative of God and humanity, functions as the starting point and foundational *derivative* character in his narrative understanding of *doxa*. Moreover, the story of Israel's creation and fall parallels the Genesis creation-fall story. This understanding lays a foundation for Paul's eschatological vindication of God's glory anticipated in the Jewish Scriptures.

First, I explore Romans 1-3 in light of the *doxa* motif, examining the nature of God's glory and humanity's lack of it. Second, 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is another pivotal text when studying Paul's view of humanity in relation to *doxa*. I investigate the relationship of male/husband and female/wife in conjunction with God's derivative *doxa* here. The third aspect of Adam-*doxa* discussion is found in 1 Corinthians 15:39-49. Here I explore the continuities and discontinuities between the first Adam and the eschatological second and last Adam figure, especially vis-à-vis *doxa* language.

3.2. The Nations Lacking the *Doxa* of God after the Pattern of Adam and Israel in Romans 1-3

Romans 1-3 highlights the issue of human idolatry, namely the lack of the *doxa* of God. Paul uses the noun δόξα three times (Rom 1:23; 2:7; 3:23) and the verb δοξάζω once (Rom 1:21) in these chapters.²⁵⁶ I explore three relevant passages found in Romans 1-3 by suggesting that the *doxa* motif has four distinctive elements. First, *doxa* is described as a feature of God. Second, according to Paul, humankind was created to represent God as His *doxa*. Therefore, "lacking the *doxa* of God" is a definition of sin which is rooted in idolatry. Third, Paul depicts Israel's exodus narratives and the Genesis creation-fall story as the pattern to be identified with the fallen Adam and Israel, who lack the *doxa* of God. Fourth, the practice of emperor worship and Stoic natural law function as Paul's Greco-Roman setting in which the *doxa* motif is applied.

Indeed, these terms are used almost synonymously when δόξα refers to God's derivative representation in creation, especially in humanity. See also Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester, *Eikon im Neuen Testament*, BZNW 23 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958).

²⁵⁶ Following Harrison and J. C. O'Neill, William Walker considers Romans 1:18-2:29 to be an interpolation based on the following three arguments: 1) it does not occur in the Marcion text; 2) linguistic reasons: non-Pauline and pseudo-Pauline vocabulary and style; 3) contextual reasons: the discussion on *the wrath of God* does not fit the context. I do not find his arguments convincing because there is no direct textual evidence for his interpolation. Also, his arguments on how the language of Romans 1 is pseudo-Pauline is circular. Moreover, *the wrath of God* is not antithetical to the revelation of *the righteousness of God*. William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters*, JSNT Supplement 213 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 166-189. Cf. P. N. Harrison, *Paul and the Pastorals* (London: Villiers, 1964), 79-85; J. C. O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1975), 40-56; Winsome Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and 1 Peter*, SNTSMS 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 155-160.

For although they knew God, they did not glorify [ἐδόξασαν] him or give thanks [ἠὺχαρίστησαν] as God to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their foolish hearts were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools, and they exchanged the glory [δόξα] of the immortal [ἀφθάρτου] God for images [εἰκόν] resembling mortal man and birds and animals and creeping things. (Rom 1:21-23 my translation)

He will give to each one according to his works: to those who by patience in good works are *seeking for glory* [δόξα] and honor [τιμή] and immortality [ἀφθαρσία], he will give eternal life; but for those who are self-seeking and do not obey the truth, and are been misled by unrighteousness, there will be wrath and fury. (Rom 2:6-8 my translation)²⁵⁷

For all have sinned and fall short of the glory [δόξα] of God. (Rom 3:23 my translation)

3.2.1. *Doxa* as a Character and Characteristic of God

Paul describes *doxa* as a characteristic of God three times in Romans 1-3. The expression “the glory of God [τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ]”²⁵⁸ shows up twice (1:21 and 3:23), and in 2:7 δόξα also describes God’s character. In Romans 1-3 Paul defines God’s *doxa* as his essential and intrinsic character with four synonymous terms. Paul declares the *doxa* of immortal God in 1:23 (τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ) and in 2:7 (seeking for glory [δόξα], honor [τιμή], and immortality [ἀφθαρσία]).²⁵⁹ Paul also uses the words δόξα and ἀλήθεια as interchangeable definitions of God’s character. Verses 23 and 25 have a parallel structure: “exchanged the glory [δόξαν] of immortal God,” “exchanged the truth [ἀλήθειαν] of God,” indicating the shared understanding. While the lexical definitions of δόξα and ἀλήθεια²⁶⁰ are different, here Paul uses them interchangeably to

²⁵⁷ This is an alternative translation: “He will give to each one according to his works: to those who by patience in good works are seeking eternal life, he will give glory (δόξα) and honor (τιμή) and immortality (ἀφθαρσία); but for those who are self-seeking and do not obey the truth, and are been misled by unrighteousness, there will be wrath and fury” (Rom 2:6-8 my translation). This grammatically possible alternative would switch the objects of seeking and granting: “the one who is currently seeking eternal life, he will grant glory, honor and immortality.” The ones who are already capable of seeking eternal life will ultimately be granted it.

²⁵⁸ The τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ -structure found in Romans 1:21 and 3:23 is the subjective genitive, describing the character of God.

²⁵⁹ The biggest interpretative question is whether Paul talks here of the truth that sin prevents any person from seeking God, or of believers who are now capable of seeking God’s *doxa*. Clearly, the description of seeking glory, honor, and immortality in 2:6-7 are exactly opposite the description of Romans 1:18-25 and, therefore, seems to refer merely to something that humans were created to do but, because of sin, are incapable of doing. On the other hand, Paul elsewhere, as I will later discuss in more detail, expects and commands believers to be able to seek God’s glory in various life situations (e.g. Rom 15:6; 1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 8:19, 23; 9:13; Gal 1:24; Phil 1:11). Thus, it seems to me that Paul is talking about believers. Douglas Moo lists six different nuanced positions and their supporters and arguments concerning these verses. Moo, *Romans*, 140-142. See also Thomas Schreiner, *The Law and its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 179-204, especially 189-193.

²⁶⁰ Paul uses ἀλήθεια eight times in Romans (1:18, 25; 2:2, 8, 20; 3:7; 9:1; 15:8) in reference to God, who is reliable, steadfast, and faithful to keep His word. Paul first uses this word in verse 18 to refer to people who suppress the truth. See also Ardel B. Caneday, “‘They Exchanged the Glory of God for the Likeness of an Image’: Idolatrous Adam and Israel as Representatives in Paul’s letter to the Romans,” *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 11 (2007), 39 and Ernst Käsemann, who dismisses the attributive use of τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ in Romans 1:25. Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary to Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 48.

describe the character of God. Other words used interchangeably are *honor* (τιμή) and *eternal life* (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). In Romans 2:6-7 Paul associates God with glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life.

Paul also depicts God as desiring *doxa* and thanksgiving from his creatures. Glorifying and giving thanks to God are complementary concepts in Romans 1:23: “οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ὑπεραρίστησαν” (cf. 2 Cor 9:11-13). In this way, this passage clearly identifies God as the supreme character in association with *doxa*.

3.2.2. Humanity Not Displaying the *Doxa* of God

Paul argues in Romans 1-3 that the root issue of sin is defined as not displaying and representing the *doxa* to God. Every human being knows God, according to Paul (Rom 1:19, 21). Knowing God makes humanity liable to glorify (δοξάζω), to give thanks (Rom 1:21), and to seek God’s *doxa*, honor, and immortality (Rom 2:7). God’s *doxa* is required to be reflected, refracted and represented in his created beings. While it is true that *doxa* belongs intrinsically to God alone, humankind represents God’s glory as a creation of God’s own image. God’s presence (theophany) was created to be with humanity. Indeed, the definition of sin is in relationship to this. As the concluding statement to Romans 1:18 – 3:19, Paul states in Romans 3:23 the condition of all humanity as lacking God’s *doxa*. Created beings are not representing or reflecting the *doxa* of God as they were meant to do. To be human is to derivatively represent God’s glory and, consequently, to glorify God. Therefore, the core issue of sin is defined as not displaying, representing, or giving glory to God.

Paul argues that idolatry is the fundamental reason for humans to lack the glory of God and not display His *doxa*. The definition of idolatry is creature-worship. In Romans 1:23 humankind has changed the *doxa* of immortal God to something else, namely to mortal beings. In 1:25 they exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshipped and served (ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν) the creature rather than the Creator.

Consequently, the ongoing anger and wrath of God is actively present in those who do not glorify God (i.e. idolatry). This wrath is displayed in a two-fold manner. First, God’s wrath is presently manifested by the practice of immorality. Paul uses the noticeable structural emphasis of threefold “exchange” (1:23, 25, 26) and “he gave over” (1:24, 26, 28).²⁶¹

²⁶¹ For an excellent history of research regarding the structural analysis of Romans 1:18-32 and his own reconstruction, see Alec J. Lucas, “Reorienting the Structural Paradigm and Social Significance of Romans 1:18-32,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 121-142.

Table 3.1. The Parallelism of Romans 1:23, 25, 26

Romans 1:23	Romans 1:25	Romans 1:26
ἥλλαξαν	μετήλλαξαν	αἱ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετήλλαξαν
τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ	τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ	τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν
ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθορᾶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν	ἐν τῷ ψεύδει καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα	εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν

In Romans 1:26 this exchange is given in more specific detail: the natural relationship is exchanged for something that goes against the created order.²⁶² Idolatry precedes the “given” immorality in Paul’s argumentation.²⁶³ Second, God’s wrath will be bestowed on idolaters as they face God’s eschatological anger (Rom 1:18; 2:5).²⁶⁴

Romans 3:23 summarizes Paul’s argumentation about Israelite and Gentile sinfulness: all lack the *doxa* of God. How to understand the phrase “ὕστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ”? Paul uses the verb ὑστερέω in the present passive form to communicate the continuous aspect of “to lack” or “to come short of” God’s glory.²⁶⁵ The glory of God is probably a subjective genitive describing the radiance and character of God²⁶⁶ that the people are now lacking as God’s images. Besides not displaying the character of the *doxa* of God due to idolatry, all (Jews and Gentiles) also lack the *doxa* of God as their identity and presence. To conclude, Paul depicts humanity’s purpose by identifying them as the derived *doxa* of God, yet idolatry is the fundamental reason for the lack of purpose in humanity.

²⁶² On this “rhetorical trap,” see Richard B. Hays, “Relations Natural and Unnatural: A Response to John Boswell’s Exegesis of Romans 1,” *JRE* 14 (1986): 194-95 and Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), 93-94.

²⁶³ Sexual immorality among all the other sins was a direct consequence of idolatry according to many Jewish works as well. For example, Wisdom of Solomon 14:12-15, 27 states, “The idea of making idols was the beginning of fornication, and the invention of them was the corruption of life. For by the vain glory [κενοδοξία] of men they entered into the world, and therefore shall they come shortly to an end. For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices...For the worship of idols, whose names it is wrong even to mention, is the beginning, cause, and end of every evil.”

²⁶⁴ Opposite to them, the ones who are currently seeking glory and honor and immortality from God will be granted eternal life in the future.

²⁶⁵ See *BDAG*, “ὕστερέω.”

²⁶⁶ See Käsemann, who states: “The correspondence of δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ and δικαιοσύνη derives from the antithesis in the context. From it one may also infer that with righteousness comes the lost image of the restoration of paradisaical perfection, while conversely δικαιοσύνη is the divine δόξα within the horizon of controversy with the world, and refers to temptation. The apostle does not understand the divine image as a habitus but as a right relation of the creature to the Creator. Käsemann, *Romans*, 94. Cf. Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 280-281.

3.2.3. Israel's and Adam's Idolatry as the Pattern for Lacking the *Doxa* of God

From where does Paul draw the understanding that humanity is lacking God's glory? Scholars usually point out that Paul intentionally appeals to his Gentile audience and mission by linking his argumentation with contemporary sources. Niko Huttunen, in his comparison, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, claims that "Paul's condemnation of homosexual practice proves that when he speaks about natural knowledge he refers to the Stoic version of natural law."²⁶⁷ Huttunen builds on Stanley Stowers' earlier conclusions that Paul's narrative language in Romans 1 is inherited from the Greco-Roman tradition based on a myth that comes from the primeval Golden Age.²⁶⁸ According to Huttunen, Paul's narrative of the decline where the false view of God leads to immorality, the shared vocabulary of the vice lists, and the rhetorically exaggerated idea of death (Rom 1:32) are common features between Paul and the Stoics, especially Epictetus. Therefore, Huttunen concludes, "Rom 1:18-32 is deeply coloured by Stoicism."²⁶⁹ Huttunen also finds a similar attitude towards homosexual practice in the Stoic view on natural law and Paul's understanding of *physis*: the visible organs illustrate what is natural and what is against nature (παρὰ φύσιν in Rom 1:26-27; cf. Epictetus, *Disc.* 1.6.9). Thus, "Paul's view of homosexual desire is reminiscent of the Stoic view."²⁷⁰ Even though the Torah condemns homosexual practice (Lev 18:22; 20:13), Paul's argument here is deliberately based on the contemporary natural law that follows the Stoic rather than the Platonic version of it.²⁷¹

Other contemporary references have been suggested as well. Stowers, who rejects any allusions to Adam in this text, suggests that Paul's pattern of communication resembles hortatory discourse after the Cynic letters of Anacharsis 9, written in the second century B.C.E. to argue for primitive life and to criticize Greek civilization.²⁷² According to Bernadette Brooten, Paul is likely alluding to the Egyptian deities.²⁷³ More recently, Robert K. Gnuse has suggested that Paul's text

²⁶⁷ Niko Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law: A Comparison* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 48. See also Niko Huttunen, "Greco-Roman Philosophy and Paul's Teaching," in *Nordic Paul: Finnish Approaches to Pauline Theology*, LNTS 374, ed. Lars Aejmelaeus and Antti Mustakallio (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 81-85.

²⁶⁸ Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, 48. See also Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans, Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 97-11. Cf. David A. DeSilva, "Paul and the Stoa: A Comparison," *JETS* 38/4 (December 1995): 549-564.

²⁶⁹ Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, 56.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 59-62. The main difference between the Platonic and Stoic view regarding this is the following: in the Platonic view, any sexual activity without lustful passion, homosexual or heterosexual, is impossible. For the Stoic, it is the change of natural sexual desire to unnatural desire that is condemned.

²⁷² Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 86-100, especially 98-100. See also Franz H. Reuters, *Die Briefe des Anacharsis*, *Schriften und Quellen des alten Welt* 14 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963).

²⁷³ Bernadette Brooten, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

would have made his readers think of the existing Isis cult in Rome.²⁷⁴ The theriomorphic (i.e. representing something in the form of an animal) images were the object of worship by Isis cult priests and priestesses. According to Gnuse, Paul attacks the sexual practices of such practitioners of the Isis cult.

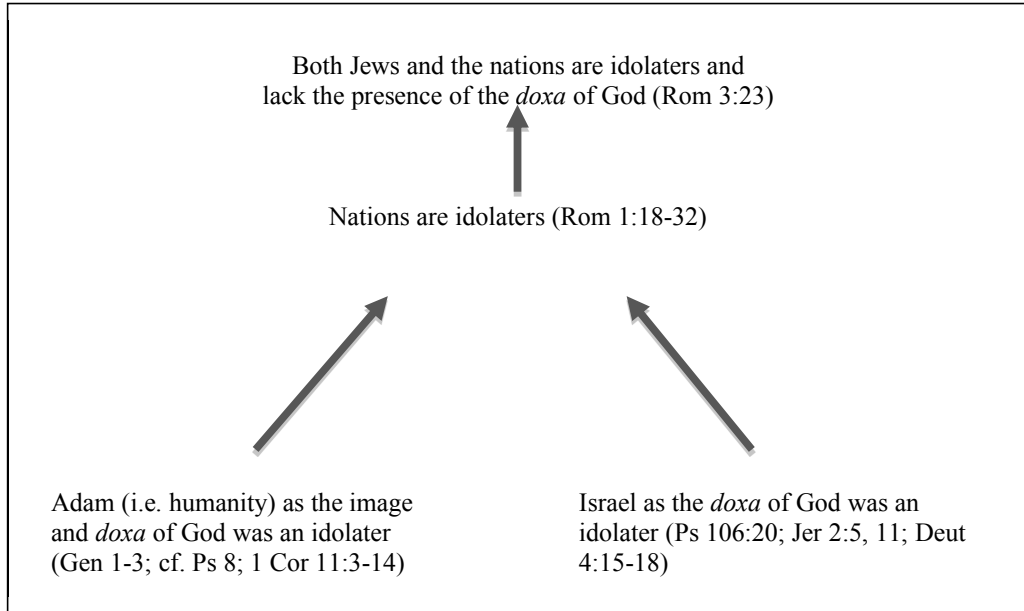
While the suggestions of Stowers, Brooten, and Gnuse are possible, but quite unlikely,²⁷⁵ Huttunen's observation regarding the seeming parallels and similarities between the Stoic view on natural law and Paul's view in Romans 1 is more balanced. Additionally, I suggest that Paul wants to show that his understanding of natural law is based on the creational order found in the Jewish understanding of history. This order is not inconsistent or contrary to the contemporary view of natural law, namely Stoic thought, nor the ethical portions of the Mosaic Law. In other words, Paul appeals in this section to both a Jew and a Gentile by drawing attention to a common ethical basis for both of them.

It is often assumed that Romans 1:18-32 was written for Gentiles for the aforementioned reasons.²⁷⁶ The reader, however, seeks in vain for the word Gentile (ἔθνος) in the section. That does not mean, nonetheless, that Paul did not include the Gentiles in this passage as well. I suggest that he addresses both by showing God's revelatory degrees and the idolatry against God as analogous, comparable, and somewhat equivalent in three different places: (1) in the creation/fall story found in Genesis; (2) in the Decalogue and the golden calf episode; and (3) in contemporary first-century Stoic natural law. Two of them are found in Jewish Scriptures and one, as Huttunen has presented, in the contemporary Stoic worldview.

²⁷⁴ Robert K. Gnuse, "Seven Gay Texts: Biblical Passages Used to Condemn Homosexuality," *BTB* 45 vol. 2 (2015): 68-87, especially 81-85.

²⁷⁵ I will argue later in this chapter that Paul is primarily referring to the Jewish Scriptures, rather than Egyptian deities or the Isis cult.

²⁷⁶ Generally 1:18-32 is seen as Paul's address to the Gentiles and 2:1-29 as his address to the Jews. See, for example, Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 97-98. It is better, however, to see a more mixed address in both passages, as argued in this chapter. See also the use of Isaiah 52:5 in Romans 2:24. Paul also seems to address both Jews and Gentiles there.

Table 3.2. The Nations Lacking the *Doxa* of God after the Pattern of Adam and Israel

Paul seems to echo or to allude to two distinct, yet not unrelated, stories from the Jewish Scriptures.²⁷⁷ First, the story of the creation and fall of the nation of Israel reminds readers of the creation-fall of the Adam story. Second, the Genesis creation-fall story functions as a picture of all humanity, including Gentiles, found in contemporary thought.

3.2.3.1. *Romans 1-3 Doxa Allusions to Israelites' Idolatry*

Paul recalls the Israelites' idolatry as exchanging the *doxa* of the Lord for that given by created beings by alluding to four different texts in the Jewish Scriptures (Ps 105:20 LXX; Jer 2; Deut 4:15-18; Hosea 4:7). According to Stowers, "[A] supposed allusion lies buried in a sentence that clearly refers to gentile practices and to a larger account of gentile decline."²⁷⁸ I, however, argue

²⁷⁷ The difference between *allusion* and *echo* is difficult to determine, as the discussion by Richard Hays, Stanley Porter, and Christopher Stanley reveals. I employ Porter's definition where "allusion is concerned to bring an external person, place, or literary work into the contemporary text, whereas echo does not have the specificity of allusion but is reserved for language that is thematically related to a more general or abstract notion or concept. ... The use of both concepts seems to imply an intentional use by the author for a particular textual purpose, such as exemplifying or supporting a particular concept." Stanley E. Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, Symposium Series 50, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 40. See also Stanley E. Porter, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles. Explorations of Theory and Practice*, NTM 16, ed. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 98-110, and Hays, *The Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 25-32.

²⁷⁸ Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 93.

that Paul intentionally leads his readers to the Jewish texts and to the idolatrous actions of the Israelites followed by the reception of the Decalogue. The intertextuality in Paul here is used to show that idolatry is the cause of the sin of Adam, of the Israelites, and of the Gentiles.

Romans 1:23 alludes to Psalm 105:20 LXX (MT 106:20):²⁷⁹ “They exchanged their glory for a likeness of a bull that eats grass [ἡλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον].”²⁸⁰ Psalm 105 LXX itself alludes to the narrative in Exodus 32-34.²⁸¹ The text describes the idolatry that the Israelites committed at Mount Sinai when they made a golden calf while Moses received the Decalogue.²⁸² They changed the possessed glory of God for the image of a creature. Exodus 34:29-35 LXX describes the Israelites’ request to Moses to place a veil over his face, which was shining with (the Lord’s?) glory. Interestingly, Paul patterns the indictment of all humanity not only after Psalm 105, but also the thrice-used expression of punishment in Romans 1:24, 26, 28 (παρέδωκεν αὐτούς) seems to echo the same words found in Psalm 105:41 LXX: “He gave them (παρέδωκεν αὐτούς) into the hand of the nations, so that those who hated them ruled over them.”

The Exodus text itself echoes the creation-fall story. Referring to the Exodus text, Scott Hafemann argues that Israel’s creation and the golden calf episode are associated with the fall of Israel after the pattern found in Genesis 1-3:

Like the original creation narrative, the re-creation of a people to enjoy God’s presence at Sinai is followed by a ‘fall’ which separates them from the glory of God. As such, like Adam and Eve, Israel’s sin with the golden calf becomes both determinative and paradigmatic for Israel’s future history as God’s people, since it was a denial of the covenant promises at their essential point, i.e. the revelation of YHWH’s character as revealed through his deliverance of Israel from Egypt as the means for granting the promised land.²⁸³

R. P. Carroll stated it well even before Hafemann: “In the overall pattern of the Pentateuch the rebellion motif functioned in relation to the Exodus in the same way as the disobedience of Adam

²⁷⁹ See also, for example, Morna D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 73-83; Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 371; contra Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 97, fn 23.

²⁸⁰ The ESV translation reads, “They made a calf in Horeb and worshiped a metal image. They exchanged the glory of God for the image of an ox that eats grass. They forgot God, their Savior, who had done great things in Egypt.” The ESV has the “glory of God”; even the LXX talks about their glory τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν and the MT says *their glory* as well.

²⁸¹ See also Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 371, and Greg Beale, *We Become What We Worship: A Biblical Theology of Idolatry* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2008), 86-92.

²⁸² See Terrance Callan, “Paul and the Golden Calf,” *Proceedings* 10 (1990): 1-17. Pekka Lindqvist has investigated the reception of Exodus 32 in early Judaism and notes that the notion of idolatry based on the Exodus 32 text can be found in Acts 7:38-42, 1 Corinthians 10:6-7, and Romans 1. Pekka Lindqvist, *Sin at Sinai: Early Judaism Encounters Exodus 32* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 2006), 70-78.

²⁸³ Scott Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 229-230. Cf. Karl-Gustav Sandelin’s discussion on 1 Corinthians 10:1-14 in relation to the scriptural and Jewish background. Karl-Gustav Sandelin, *Attraction and Danger of Alien Religion: Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity*, WUNT 290 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 77-93, especially 87.

in the garden of Eden which ruined the goodness of the divine creation.”²⁸⁴ This resemblance is often an overlooked aspect of the Jews’ own understanding before the era of Paul as well as the later rabbinic comprehension of their own history.²⁸⁵

Additionally, based on Alec Lucas, Paul seeks to portray the Jews as hypocrites. Lucas posits, “The Jewish interlocutor whom Paul indicts for doing ‘the same’ in Romans 2:1-11 is drawn into this vortex by means of a socially subversive allusion to the golden calf incident in Romans 1:23 (cf. Ps 106 [105]: 20), one that must be understood in the broader context of Jewish-Egyptian relations.”²⁸⁶ In other words, Paul appeals to his Jewish audience to recognize that their predicament is equal to that of the Gentiles.

Romans 1:23 also points to a text found in Jeremiah 2:5, 11-12:²⁸⁷

What error did your fathers find in me that they stood far from me and went after *worthless things* [τῶν ματαιῶν] and became *worthless* [ἐματαιώθησαν]? (Jer 2:5 LXX NETS)

Will nations change their gods? And these are no gods. But my people *have changed their glory* [ἡλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ] for one from which they will not profit. The sky was appalled at this and shuddered more and more, says the LORD, because my people in fact committed two evils: they forsook me, fountain of living water, and dug out cracked cisterns for themselves that will not be able to hold water. (Jer 2:11-12 LXX NETS)

Jeremiah’s lawsuit against the nation of Israel reminds them of the Exodus generation who died in the wilderness. This reminder functions as an example to Jeremiah’s contemporary generation, who have exchanged the glory of the Lord, including the land that the Lord gave them and the fountain of living waters, for idols such as Baal (Jer 2:8). The author of Jeremiah uses the Exodus allusion for his contemporary and present situation. Similarly, Paul is alluding to this text with the use of

²⁸⁴ Carroll also notes, “This seems to be a pattern in the general presentation of history in the Pentateuch. Adam’s disobedience, Abraham’s failure (Gen 12:10-19:20), Isaac’s repetition of that deceit (Gen 26: 6-11), Jacob’s deceit (Gen 27) and Israel’s rebellion after the exodus all represent the human failure to respond in faith to God.” Robert P. Carroll, “Rebellion and Dissent in Ancient Israelite Society,” *ZAW* 89 no 2 (1977), 199.

²⁸⁵ Seth Postell also argues that “Genesis 1-3 intentionally foreshadows Israel’s failure to keep the Sinai Covenant as well as their exile from the Promised Land in order to point the reader to a future work of God in the ‘last days.’” Seth Postell, *Adam as Israel: Genesis 1-3 as the Introduction to the Torah and Tanakh* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011), 3. Moreover, Caneday lists several rabbinic references to point to this association: *b. Sanh.* 38b; 102a; *Mek. Bahodesh* 9; *Exod. Rab.* 21.1; 30.7, 32.1, 7, 11; 43.2; 45.2; 46.1; 47.72; *Lev. Rab.* 11.3; *Num. Rab.* 16.24; *Qoh. Rab.* 8.1.3; 9.11.1; *Lam. Rab.* 1.3.28; *Pesiq. Rab.* 14.10; *Pesiq. Kah.* 37a; *Tg. Neof.* 32.1, 4, 8, 19f, 23f, 31, 35. Caneday, “They exchanged the glory of God for the likeness of an image,” 36-37, 43.

²⁸⁶ Alec J. Lucas, “Reorienting the Structural Paradigm and Social Significance of Romans 1:18–32,” *JBL* 131, no.1 (2012): 122. See also Alec J. Lucas, *Evocations of the Calf? Romans 1:18–2:11 and the Substructure of Psalm 106(105)*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 201 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

²⁸⁷ See also Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 372. Alec Lucas denies the allusion to Jeremiah 2:5 regarding Romans 1:21, yet he suggests that it is a possible allusion to Psalm 94:11. The basis of his denial is the frequency of usage of ματαιῶν in Second Temple Jewish literature (see, for example, Wis 13:1; 15:8; *Let Aris.* 1.134, 136, 138, 139; *Sib. Or.* 3.29). In my opinion he fails to consider Jeremiah 2:11-12. See Alec J. Lucas, “Reorienting the Structural Paradigm and Social Significance of Romans 1:18-32,” 132 fn. 32. See also Ezek 8:10.

“they became futile (ἐματαιώθησαν) in their thinking” (Rom 1:23). He uses another almost identical phraseology in Romans 1:23 “ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ,” most likely alluding to Jeremiah 2:11. Paul’s view of the indictment of all humanity, including the Gentiles, resembles Jeremiah’s allegation against Israel. The golden calf story and the episode of the history of Israel were on the one hand reminiscent of the creation story, and on the other hand they become, in Paul’s mind, a parable of the human condition, namely the capacity for self-destructive idolatry, not only for the Israelites, but also for Paul’s Roman audience, the Jews and Gentiles alike.²⁸⁸

A similar idea to Jeremiah 2 can be found in the third text, Hosea 4:7:²⁸⁹ “I will *change their glory into shame* [τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν θήσομαι; LXX].”²⁹⁰ The change of glory could point to God’s ironic change of causing the Israelites to “reflect and share the empty glory of its idols rather than God’s glory. This idea of Hosea 4:7 is emphasized further in that the rest of the chapter (vv. 10-19) explicitly identifies Israel’s sin as idolatry.”²⁹¹ It is also noteworthy that here the Israelites have changed *their* glory²⁹² rather than *his* glory as in Jeremiah 2. In other words, in this prophetic tradition the representation of God’s glory in the lives of the Israelites has been changed.

Finally, another echo, found in the fourth text, Deuteronomy 4:15-18, is a reflection of the prohibition against idolatry:

Therefore watch yourselves very carefully. Since you saw no form on the day that the LORD spoke to you at Horeb out of the midst of the fire, beware lest you act corruptly by making a carved image [ὁμοίωμα] for yourselves, in the form of any figure [εἰκόνα], the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of male [ἄρσενικός] or female [θηλυκός], the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any animal that is on the earth, the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any winged bird that flies [πέτομαι] in the air, the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of anything that creeps [έρπετόν] on the ground, the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any fish that is in the water under the earth. (Deut 4:15-18)

This text deliberately prohibits Israelites from making idols out of created beings, including males, females, or animals, and is therefore a re-phrasing of the second commandment found in Deuteronomy 5:8-9 and a reminder to the audience of the golden calf episode. The writer also uses, possibly deliberately, two interchangeable terms (ὁμοίωμα and εἰκὼν) several times to make a

²⁸⁸ Hayes, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 93-94.

²⁸⁹ The exact dating of these texts is difficult, and therefore we can only speculate on the possible allusions from Hosea to Jeremiah.

²⁹⁰ The opposite of δόξα is ἀτιμία (cf. Rom 1:26; 1 Cor 11:14-15; 15:43; 2 Cor 6:8). This usage may be an indication that Paul has indeed this passage in mind as a background when formulating his *doxa* theology.

²⁹¹ Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 373. See also Richard H. Bell, *No One Seeks for God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 1:18-3:20*, WUNT 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 24-25, 94; A. J. M. Wedderburn, “Adam in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in *Studia Biblica 1978: III Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors*, LNTS 3, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1980), 414.

²⁹² Cf. fn. 181.

connection between Israel's idolatry and Adam's idolatry. Paul's emphatic use of ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοϛ in Romans 1:23 is likely reminiscent of this text.

Karl-Gustav Sandelin points out how Philo of Alexandria often used the expression πολύθεοϛ δόξα (e.g. *Opif.* 171; *Her.* 169; *Decal.* 65; *Virt.* 214) and considered wealth and δόξα as an idol (Philo, *Spec.* 1, 28).²⁹³ For Philo, idolatry (i.e. polytheistic belief) is always rooted in deification of the created world, including the material body, womanish passions, and animals. Worshipping the golden calf in Exodus 32 is an example of this idolatry manifested after the pattern of Egyptian religion.²⁹⁴ Both Paul and Philo emphasize the definition of idolatry as the worship of created beings. While Paul portrays the Jewish people lacking God's glory as the consequence of idolatry, Philo interprets the same idolatrous behaviour as seeking glory the pagan way.

Paul's deliberate language may be for the purpose of reminding Jewish believers in Rome of the past experiences of Israel. The divine glory, the presence of Yahweh, departed Israel as a result of disobedience (e.g. 1 Sam 4:21; Ezek 11:23). The Jewish believers in Rome might be prone to think more highly of themselves than Gentile believers. Paul reminds them that the sinfulness of both groups is rooted in idolatry, as the Jewish Scriptures, Jewish thought, and contemporary Stoic worldviews point out. The Jewish people are equally without excuse.

3.2.3.2. *The Doxa Echoes in Romans 1-3 to the Genesis Creation - Fall Narrative*

While the allusions to the Israelites' idolatry are less controversial and more widely acknowledged by scholarship, Paul's echoes to the creation-fall narrative found in Genesis in relation to *doxa* are more contentious.

References to the creation story found in Genesis 1-2, and especially to the fall (Genesis 3) and the consequent stories (Genesis 4-19), are ignored,²⁹⁵ doubted,²⁹⁶ or altogether rejected by many scholars.²⁹⁷ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, for example, strongly claims that "reference to Adam here

²⁹³ Sandelin, "The Danger of Idolatry According to Philo of Alexandria," 111-112.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 113-118, 131-133.

²⁹⁵ Mark Seifrid says, "Paul's description of idolatry as 'exchanging the glory of God for the likeness of an image of a perishable human being, and birds, and animals, and reptiles' (1:23) may echo various biblical texts. The 'exchange of the glory of God' (1:23) is a pointed description of idolatry borrowed from biblical charges against Israel (Ps. 106:20; Jer. 2:11)." He seems to ignore Paul's probable allusions to Genesis. Mark Seifrid, "Romans," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 611.

²⁹⁶ Thomas Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* (Leicester: Apollos, 2001), 105; Furthermore, Newman states, "normally interpreted as a reference to the lost glory that Adam (supposedly) possessed at creation, this verse [Rom 3:23], however, refers to the relationship between God and humanity...Paul never connects Adam and Glory and, for that matter, neither does Genesis 1." Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 225-226.

²⁹⁷ Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, 45; Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans*, Anchor 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 283-284; Dale B. Martin, "Heterosexism and the Interpretation of Romans 1:18-32," *BiblInt* (1995): 332-355. Stowers gives three reasons for his position: "Interpreters are mistaken when they jump from this to traditional assumptions about the meaning and role of Genesis 1-3. Why? First, the reading of Genesis that interpreters assume is transparent

is eisegetical,²⁹⁸ and Douglas Moo states, “Paul is not describing either the fall of Israel or the fall of humankind in Adam.”²⁹⁹ Moreover, Martti Nissinen questions any allusion to the creation-fall narrative:

Often in this context scholars speak of an order of creation, referring to the gender difference and the complementarity of sexes constituted by God at the beginning (Gen. 1:27). *Physis (nature), however, is not a synonym for ktisis (creation); creation and nature are not interchangeable concepts in Paul’s theology...Paul does not refer to the creation narratives (Genesis 1-3) when describing the errors of the people, and he does not explain their apostasy on the basis of Adam’s fall...Even if the idea of creation is not absent from our text, its moral implications are clearly subordinated to Hellenistic Jewish ideas of the law of nature, according to which the order and purpose of creation are visible conventional patterns – like heterosexuality. This theology of creation is not primarily drawn from Genesis 1-3 but from the thinking of Paul’s contemporaries.*³⁰⁰ [Emphasis mine]

Many prominent scholars see, however, an apparent link between Romans 1 and Genesis 1-3.³⁰¹ Indeed, there seem to be several pointers that give the reader a reasonable basis to believe

did not yet exist in Paul’s time; second, Paul’s explicit references to Adam seem to rule out the traditional understanding; third, the absence of the Adamic fall narrative becomes manifest in light of cultural codes and textual reading known to be contemporary with Paul.” Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 86-100; Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 109. For the main argument, Moo says, “In Gen. 1-3, ‘idolatry’ (the desire to ‘be like God’) precedes the Fall; in Rom. 1, a ‘fall’ (the refusal to honor God, v. 21) precedes idolatry. Then also, as we have seen, Rom. 1 focuses on human neglect of ‘natural revelation,’ whereas Rom. 5:13-14 shows that Paul linked Adam with Israel in being responsible for ‘special revelation.’ Moreover, it is significant that, although allusions to Gen. 1 are found in Rom. 1:18-32, there are no clear allusions to Gen. 3 – except, perhaps, with ‘death’ in v. 32.” In my opinion, Moo fails to consider “the refusal to honor God” as idolatry. They are, however, two sides of the same coin. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, 147-150; cf. Philip F. Esler, “The Sodom Tradition in Romans 1:18-32,” *BTB* 34 (2004): 4-16, where Esler argues that Genesis 19 is the main Old Testament source for Romans 1:18-32; Mark A. Seifrid, “Unrighteous by Faith: Apostolic Proclamation in Romans 1:18-3:20,” in *The Paradoxes of Paul*, vol. 2 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, ed. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O’Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 117-118; Martti Nissinen, *Homoeroticism in the Biblical World: A Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 103-112.

²⁹⁸ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 347.

²⁹⁹ Moo, *Romans*, 109.

³⁰⁰ Nissinen, *Homoeroticism in the Biblical World*, 107. He does say in a footnote though, “The sequence of ‘human beings, birds, four-footed animals and reptiles’ in Rom. 1:23 may be an echo – even though not necessarily a quotation – of Gen 1:26, but this again underlines the difference between Creator (who should be worshiped) and creation (which should not be worshiped) and thus is linked with the preceding rather than with the following text in Romans 1.” See also Jeremy Townsley, “Paul, the Goddess Religions, and Queer Sects: Romans 1:23-28,” *JBL* 130 no 4 (2011): 707-728.

³⁰¹ Niels Hyldahl, “A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i 23,” *NTS* (1955-56): 285-88; Hooker states, “He deliberately described man’s predicament in terms of the biblical narrative of Adam’s fall” in Morna Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 85. See also Morna D. Hooker, “Adam in Romans I,” *NTS* (1959-60), 300; Morna D. Hooker, “A Further Note on Romans 1,” *NTS* 6 (1959-1960): 297-306; Morna D. Hooker, “Adam in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” *NTS* 13 (1967): 181-183. Dunn says, “It is sufficiently clear that Paul also had in mind the figure of Adam and the narrative of the fall (Gen 3), as of course is true also of the Wisdom of Solomon (2:23-24). There are no specific allusions to Genesis, but it was hardly possible for a Jew to think of man’s place in creation, knowledge of God, and his loss of that knowledge in a (single) act of willful rebellion, without reference to Gen 2-3. Paul’s indictment of humankind is also his description of Adam (=man): Adam/man who did not honor God as God or acknowledge his creaturely dependence on him, Adam/man who thought he himself could be as God, wise in his own right without need of God’s wisdom, and who by that very act darkened his own counsel and clothed himself in folly, Thus, it is that the Genesis narrative provides Paul with a penetrating

that Paul, when talking about idolatry as exchanging the *doxa* of God for created beings, is echoing Genesis. These echoes point especially to the creation story, but probably also to the fall and consequent narratives as well.

First, in verses 20 and 25 Paul directs the reader's mind towards the theme of creation. He refers to the time when God's general revelation became available, namely, the creation of the world (ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου). Also, the foundation of idolatry is the change of the object of worship from the creator to the creature (ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα). The readers' thoughts are intentionally taken to the creation story found in Genesis 1-3.

Second, there is a probable lexical allusion to the creation narrative (Table 3.3.). Paul seems to direct the reader's attention to Genesis by intentionally using the same five words in Romans 1:23 as appear in Genesis 1:26 LXX.

Table 3.3. The Parallelism of Genesis 1:26 LXX and Romans 1:23

<u>Gen 1:26 LXX</u>	<u>Romans 1:23</u>
εἶπεν ὁ θεός ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔρπετων τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἔρπετων.

The reader can make an obvious allusion to the creation narrative by being directed to remember the function of the human to be the image and likeness of God (κατὰ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν in Gen 1:26 LXX). Moreover, this imaging and likening mean that humans have dominion over the animal creation that is represented by three or four distinctive kinds.³⁰² The naming of the animals in Romans 1:23 seems to stem from Genesis 1:20-26 with its threefold

analysis of contemporary man." J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38 (Dallas: Word, 1988), 72. See also J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 60-61, 82; Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 101-103, and Dunn, "Adam in Paul," 120-135; Wedderburn, "Adam in Paul's Letter to the Romans," 413-430; Ardel B. Caneday, "'They Exchanged the Glory of God for the Likeness of an Image': Idolatrous Adam and Israel as Representatives in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 11 no 3 (Fall 2007): 34-45; Robert Gagnon, *The Bible and Homosexual Practice: Texts and Hermeneutics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 256-259; 289-292; Richard Hayes, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 386; cf. Richard Hayes, "Relations Natural and Unnatural: A Response to John Boswell's Exegesis of Romans 1," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 14 (1986): 184-215; Byrskog, "Christology and Identity in an Intertextual Perspective," 1-18; Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 374, fn. 38; Wright states, "Paul is dependent for its full force on echoes of Genesis 3." Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1363. Moreover, "despite some suggestions to the contrary, the line of thought in 1.18-25 has 'Adam' written all over it, even while it also alludes clearly to the primal sin of Israel (the golden calf)" in Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 769; Jewett, *Romans*, 160-162.

³⁰² See also Richard Middleton, *The Liberation Image: The Imago Dei in Genesis 1* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2005).

portrayal of the animals (πετεινῶν [cf. πετεινὰ in Gen 1:20 and πετεινῶν in Gen 1:26 LXX] καὶ τετραπόδων [cf. τετράποδα in Gen 1:24 LXX] καὶ ἔρπετῶν [cf. ἔρπετὰ in Gen 1:25 and ἔρπετῶν in Gen 1:26 LXX]). Two of these words are also found in Genesis 6:20; 8:1, 17, 19; 9:3 (πετεινῶν and ἔρπετῶν). Paul uses the animals found in Genesis 1:20-25 and then again summarized in Genesis 1:26 (τετραπόδων is omitted). Besides probable allusions to the Genesis text, it is possible that the examples of adoration of birds in the contemporary Gentile culture are in Paul's mind as well.³⁰³ If so, there is another intentional appeal to harmonize Genesis and contemporary idolatries.

We see lexical allusions to Genesis not only in Romans 1:23 but also in Romans 1:26-27. Paul's attestations to two different genders are rendered as females (θῆλυς) and males (ἄρσιν), which carries the connotation from Genesis 1:27 (ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς; cf. Gen 5:1 LXX).³⁰⁴ Usually, Paul uses the more common terms man (ἄνθρωπος)³⁰⁵ and woman (γυνή)³⁰⁶ to denote the gender differences. Thus, it seems that the choice of words in Romans 1:26-27 was intended to follow those of Genesis 1:27.

As I suggested in my background chapter, Psalm 8 is a royal commentary on the Genesis 1:20-26 events.³⁰⁷ It seems probable that Paul also draws from Psalm 8: "You diminished him a little in comparison with angels; *with glory and honor* [δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν] you crowned him" (Ps 8:5-9 LXX NETS). The psalm writer changes the image (εἰκών) and likeness (ὁμοίωσις) of Genesis 1:26 to glory (δόξα) and honor (τιμή) to interpret the text. This change indicates that the psalm author understood the purpose of kingship and humanity was to possess the presence of, and to reflect the *doxa* of, God in his nature. The purpose of Adam was to represent all humanity (cf. Rom 5:21-26). Therefore, Paul can use *doxa* language in Romans 1:21, 23 and

³⁰³ Roy Kotansky, J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Le Muséon* 105.1-2 (1992): 5-25. See also Jewett, *Romans*, 161-162.

³⁰⁴ Thomas Schreiner, *Romans*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 95 makes the same observation. Interestingly, Galatians 3:28 is the only other place where Paul uses these words. See also Meyer, "Anthropogony and Theology in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul," 118-128.

³⁰⁵ Rom 4:8; 7:2 (x3), 3 (x4), 11:4; 1 Cor. 7:2, 3 (x2), 4 (x2), 10, 11 (x2), 13 (x2), 14, 16 (x2), 34, 39 (x2), 11:3 (x2), 4, 7 (x2), 8 (x2), 9 (x2), 11 (x2), 12 (x2), 14, 13:11; 14:35; 2 Cor 11:2; Gal 4:27; cf. Eph 4:13; 5:22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 33; Col 3:18, 19; 1 Tim 2:8, 12; 3:2, 12; 5:9; Tit 1:6; 2:5.

³⁰⁶ Rom 7:2; 1 Cor 5:1; 7:1, 2, 3 (x2), 4 (x2), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (x2), 16 (x2), 27 (x2), 29, 33, 34, 39; 9:5; 11:3, 5, 6 (x2), 7, 8 (x2), 9 (x2), 10, 11 (x2), 12 (x2), 13, 15; 14:35; Gal 4:4; cf. Eph 5:22, 23, 24, 25, 28 (x2), 31, 33 (x2), Col 3:18, 19; 1 Tim 2:9, 10, 11, 12, 14; 3:2, 11, 12; 5:9; Tit 1:6.

³⁰⁷ Gordon Wenham states, "The image makes man God's representative on earth. That man is made in the divine image and is this God's representative was a common oriental view of the king. Both Egyptian and Assyrian texts describe the kings as the image of God... Furthermore, man is here bidden to rule and subdue the rest of creation, an obviously royal task (cf. 1 Kgs 5:4 [4:24], etc.) and Ps 8 speaks of man as having been created a little lower than the angels, *crowned* with glory and made to *rule* the work of God's hands. The allusions to the functions of royalty are quite clear in Ps 8. Another consideration suggesting that man is a divine representative on earth arises from the very idea of an image. Images of gods and kings were viewed as representatives of the deity or king" [original emphasis]. Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC 1 (Waco: Word, 1987), 30-31. See also Joel Marcus, "Son of Man as Son of Adam," *RB* 101 (2003): 38-61.

3:23 to say on the one hand that humanity was created to be the image of God, to represent the *doxa* of the Creator, yet on the other hand that humanity failed to do so by imaging and glorifying other creatures. Thus, Newman's point that Romans 3:23 describes "the relationship between God and humanity" is indeed true, but not at the expense of ignoring the reference to Genesis 1-3, but rather *because of it*. Indeed, the glory (of Adam) refers to all humanity because Adam represents the whole of humankind.³⁰⁸

The third of these pointers to Genesis is that for Paul, the natural creation order has been reversed. It seems that Nissinen's view is not convincing that κτίσις (Rom 1:20, 25) and φύσις (Rom 1:26) / φυσικός (Rom 1:26, 27) cannot be interchangeable concepts in Jewish understanding and, consequently, for Paul in Romans 1.³⁰⁹ According to Paul, following the Jewish thought,³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 225. Moo's argument that "in Gen. 1-3, 'idolatry' (the desire to 'be like God') preceded the Fall; in Romans 1, a 'fall' (the refusal to honor God, v. 21) precedes idolatry" is a moot point, because in my opinion, he neglects to see the similarity of the statements "desire to be like god" and "the refusal to honor God." Indeed the entire definition of idolatry is the refusal to honor God.

³⁰⁹ Nissinen argues that κτίσις and φύσις / φυσικός are not synonymous concepts for Paul. Nissinen states, "In antiquity, *physis* expresses a fundamental cultural role or a conventional, proper, or inborn character or appearance." Moreover, he says, "The Greek concept of 'nature' (*physis*) that Paul and others used cannot be simply identified with creation. Nor is the problem solved by repeating the point in the creation story according to which God created people male and female and commanded them to procreate." Nissinen, *Homoeotism in the Biblical World*, 105. Paul uses the word φύσις 10 times (Rom 1:26; 2:14, 27; 11:21, 24 [3], 1 Cor 11:14; Gal 2:15; 4:8; cf. Eph 2:3; and φυσικός twice [1:26, 27]), usually referring to the natural inborn differences that Jew and Gentile have (cf. Rom 2:14, 27; 11:21, 24; Gal 2:15). It is true that, for example, in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Paul distinguishes the creative order (1 Cor 11:7-12) from the natural one denoting "how things are" in societal terms (1 Cor 11:13-14). However, even there is a link between the natural order and creative order in Paul's argumentation. The word κτίσις is used as well 11 times in Pauline literature (Rom 1:20, 25; 8:19, 20, 21, 22, 39; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15. cf. Col 1:15, 23), usually referring to the redeemed end times of eschatological creation (Rom 8:19, 20, 21, 22, 39; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). Nissinen is correct that these words can be, and indeed are sometimes used differently in Paul. For Paul, however, the expression παρὰ φύσιν in Romans 1 seems to be based on the creative order. Even though Nissinen admits in a footnote that Romans 1:23 may be an echo of Genesis 1:26, he still claims that is not linked with what follows. However, Nissinen somehow neglects to see that Paul deliberately connects it to the following sentence (Rom 1:26) by starting it with διό (therefore, for this reason). Paul states that παρὰ φύσιν means to go against the image of God, namely, to be sexual beings as male and female. To be the image and glory of God after the creative order is to acknowledge maleness and femaleness in gender. After all, Paul does point out that this creative order can be observed empirically in the contemporary culture. Regarding Paul's argument against same-sex engagement, it seems that Paul viewed "men committing shameless acts with men" (Rom 1:27) as an example of παρὰ φύσιν activity.

³¹⁰ See my discussion in background chapter. There are also other contemporary Jewish texts (*Apoc. Mos. 19-12* and *T. Naph. 3:1-5*). A pseudepigraphal text from the *Testament of Naphtali 3:1-5* has a similar allusion to the changed order of nature: "Therefore, do not be eager to corrupt your deeds through greediness or with empty words to deceive your souls; because if you keep silence in purity of heart, you will understand how to hold fast to the will of God, and to cast away the will of the devil. Sun and moon and stars do not change their order; so you also should not change the law of God in the disorder of your deeds. The nations went astray, and abandoned the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed trees and stones, following spirits of error. But you will not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that you not become like Sodom, which changed the order of their nature. And likewise the Watchers also *changed the order of their nature*, whom the Lord also cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless" (*T. Naph. 3:1-5*). While there is a potential Christian influence on the Testament of the Twelve Testaments, a fragment of the Testament of Naphtali was found in Qumran 4Q215 indicating the Jewish origin of the document (cf. Marinus de Jonge, "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *NT 4* no 3 [1960]: 182-235). Philo links the law of eternal nature (φύσις) with the unbounded prosperity bestowed on the men who are tending to the production

the creational order is the natural order. This natural creation order displays the *doxa* of God. While in Genesis Adam is given the responsibility to listen to God and to obey him, to have dominion over other created beings, and to form a relationship with the opposite sex, Romans 1 describes a situation where all three functions of humanity have been reversed. Despite the fact that there are no direct lexical allusions, Paul seems to reverse the order of Genesis 1:26 in Romans 1:23 to interpret Genesis 2-3 and to use that as a typology and pattern for the idolatry of his own audience. According to Romans 1, humans are now worshipping created beings instead of God (ἐν ὁμοιωμάτι εἰκόνης φθορατοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν).³¹¹ Parallel with this, in the creation-fall story Adam and Eve believe and obey the creature instead of the Creator. In this matter, they do not fulfill the commission given them by God in the natural order of creation. Indeed, they are dominated by a creature and glorify created beings, instead of God. Thus, Paul's description of the reversal of the natural order as the exchange of the glory of God fits the creation-fall account.

The outcome of the reversal of the creative order is death, God's wrath, and being cast out of the presence of God. Paul's argument in Romans 1 is rooted in this natural creation order reversal, although it is not limited to it, but rather extended and applied to his contemporary audience. For Paul, all people are subject to God's wrath (ὀργή in Rom 1:18), deserve death (ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσὶν in Rom 1:32), and lack God's glory due to idolatry. While Huttunen,³¹² among others, sees this death as figurative, it seems better to see it as an intentional analogy to the Genesis account as well as the concrete result of idolatry and immorality. As interpreted by Paul,³¹³ in Genesis 1-3 idolatry precedes death and the removal of Adam and Eve from the presence of God.

The fourth pointer is that "the truthfulness of God" also seems to direct the reader to the narrative of the fall (τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ in Rom 1:25; see also 3:7; 15:8 cf. 1:18; 2:2, 8, 20; 9:1).³¹⁴ Not only the warning in the form of a negative promise/threat from God in Genesis ("in the

of glory (δόξα). Philo, *On the Life of Moses* II, 52-53. See also Gagnon, *The Bible and Homosexual Practice*, 256-258, and S. Donald Fortson III and Rolling G. Grams, *Unchanging Witness: The Consistent Christian Teaching on Homosexuality in Scripture and Tradition* (Nashville: B & H Academic, 2016), 323-342, contra Matthew Vines, *God and the Gay Christian: The Biblical Case in Support of Same-Sex Relationships* (New York: Convergent, 2014), 94-115.

³¹¹ In 1 Thessalonians 2:6 Paul says, "Nor did we seek glory [δόξα] from people, whether from you or from others, though we could have made demands as apostles of Christ." Here he seems to consider sinful practice as seeking glory from people, not from God. This thought is very similar to Romans 1.

³¹² Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, 56.

³¹³ For a discussion about the intention of the author of Genesis regarding "death," see for example, James Barr, *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Mortality* (London: SCM Press, 1992).

³¹⁴ I am indebted to Caneday for this observation. See Caneday, "They Exchanged the Glory of God for the Likeness of an Image," 39-40.

day you eat of it, you will surely die” [Gen 2:17]) but also the serpent’s opposite claim (“you will not surely die” [Gen 3:4]) are meant to be brought to mind when Paul uses this term in this passage. The serpent changes the statement of God, making it have the opposite meaning. So for Paul, Adam’s exchange of the truth regarding God for a serpent’s (a creature’s) lie functions as a pillar to the indictment and sin of all humanity.³¹⁵

The fifth pointer is that the ethical implications of lacking God’s *doxa* and practicing idolatry are rooted in Genesis and Decalogue narratives. It is important to note that Paul does not refer only to the same-sex practice as the reversed and unnatural creation order found in the first century, but also offers an extended vice list (Rom 1:28-32). It is certainly true, as scholars have noted for a long time, that the vice list in Romans 1 contains Greco-Roman characteristics.³¹⁶ Such lists are found, however, in Jewish writings as well. Idolatry often started such lists (Wis 11:15; 12:24; 13:1-2; 14:12) and the vices which followed were its subsequent consequences (Wis 14:22-27). Additionally, scholars have neglected a probable link with Genesis 4-18, where the narratives function as an antitype for what it means to glorify God. Romans 1:18-32 comprises some lexical and thematic allusions to Genesis 4-18. As I have already pointed out, there is a three-fold list of the animal representation found in Genesis 1:26-27. Additionally, Genesis 5:1 starts a narrative of genealogy with similar kinds of words as those used in Genesis 1:26-27 and Romans 1:23, 26-27: “On that day God made Adam, he made him according to the image of God [εἰκόνα θεοῦ], male [ἄρσεν] and female [θῆλυ] he made them” (Gen 5:1-2 LXX my translation).³¹⁷

The Genesis story unfolds the sinfulness of humankind, illustrating the depravity of not exhibiting the image and glory of God. The story of Cain (Gen 4:1-16) is an illustration of life outside of the Garden. Cain kills his brother; an act that is called sin (ἁμαρτάνω; cf. Rom 3:23).

³¹⁵ In addition, the words of Romans 1:22, “claiming to be wise (σοφοί), they became fools,” may call to the reader’s mind the poignant drama of Genesis 3, especially the misguided and false wisdom of Genesis 3:6 (the tree is desirable because it is thought to give wisdom [ὁραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι]). While this allusion is not a lexical one, the argument possibly points to the Genesis text. See also Levison, “Adam and Eve in Romans 1:18-25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,” 524-525.

³¹⁶ Jewett, *Romans*, 181-191. “Moreover, vice lists occur in the world of philosophers, like Epictetus, and in works of astrologers (Vögtle 1936:87).” Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, 53, fn. 61.

³¹⁷ Similar kinds of descriptions are found several times a few chapters later in the Noah narrative: “Of the birds [τῶν πετεινῶν] according to their kinds, and of the animals according to their kinds, of every creeping thing [τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἐρπόντων] of the ground, according to its kind, two of every sort shall come in to you to keep them alive” (Gen 6:20). “God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the livestock that were with him in the ark [πάντων τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν]” (Gen 8:1). “Bring out with you every living thing that is with you of all flesh—birds [πετεινῶν] and animals and every creeping thing [πᾶν ἑρπετὸν] that creeps on the earth—that they may swarm on the earth, and be fruitful and multiply on the earth” (Gen 8:17). “Every beast, every creeping thing, and every bird [πετεινόν], everything [ἑρπετόν] that moves on the earth, went out by families from the ark” (Gen 8:19). “Every moving thing [ἑρπετόν] that lives shall be food for you” (Gen 9:3).

This sin is a manifestation of his envy towards his brother and his disobedience towards God. Furthermore, the sinfulness of humanity leading to the narrative of Noah is parallel with the vice list found in Romans. Besides the fact that Paul's description fits thematically with descriptions in Genesis 6, the same words are used to denote the sinfulness of humankind (cf. Rom 1):

When the LORD saw that the wicked deeds [κακία] of humans were multiplied on the earth and that all think [διανοέομαι] attentively in their hearts on evil things [πονηρός] all the days. (Gen 6:5 LXX NETS)

The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was full of wrongdoing [ἀδικία]. (Gen 6:11 LXX NETS)

God said to Noah, "The time of all humankind had come before me, for the earth has become full of wrongdoing [ἀδικία] by reason of them, and see, I am going to ruin them and the earth." (Gen 6:13 LXX NETS)

Moreover, Esler has argued in detail that the main Old Testament source for Romans 1:18-32 is the account found in Genesis 19.³¹⁸ The narrative of Sodom and Gomorrah is told to illustrate how the Lord destroyed the city because no single righteous person lived there. Even though Nissinen argues that the issue described is the hostility shown towards strangers,³¹⁹ it seems more warranted to see the people of Sodom and Gomorrah described as ungodly (ἄσεβής; Gen 18:16-33). Their great sin (ἁμαρτία; Gen 18:20 LXX) in the story was sexual engagement between people of the same gender (cf. Gen 19:5 LXX). According to Esler, the Sodom narrative functions as a negative example of God's punishment in the Old Testament (e.g. Deut 29:23-28; 32:32; Is 1:2-31; 13:19-20; Jer 21:13-14; 27:33-40 LXX; Lam 4:6; Ezek 16:46-51), in the intertestamental literature (e.g. T. Naph. 3:2-4; Jub. 20:1-6; 3 Macc. 2:5; Wis 19:13-17; Philo, *Abr.* 133-134), and in the New Testament oral and written tradition (Matt 10:15; 11:23-24; Luke 10:12; 17:29; Rom 9:29; 2 Pet 2:6; Jude 7; Rev 11:8). Thus, Genesis 19 may indeed be another allusive text found in Romans 1:18-32 regarding the *doxa* motif. Furthermore, it is possible that Paul makes a connection between the Genesis 4-19 story and the contemporary situation.

³¹⁸ Esler, "The Sodom Tradition in Romans 1:18-32." Esler rejects any allusions to the creation-fall narrative though. He says, "We have seen that appeal could be made to the fate of Sodom in relation both to Israelites and non-Israelites. While the start of this theme, in Romans 1:18, applies to Israelites and non-Israelites, in vv 19-32 Paul has only non-Israelites in mind. Adam is not referred to in the passage, and Paul is not saying something about the human condition in general; he has in mind only the non-Israelites of his time." Esler, "The Sodom Tradition in Romans 1:18-32," 15. In my opinion, Esler's argumentation has flaws: (1) since 1:18 talks about both Israelites and non-Israelites, why would he not talk to both of them in verses 19-32?; (2) in Israelite understanding the Adam narrative is referring to the human condition in general and includes non-Israelites. Thus, Paul is talking of both the Adamic tradition and the Sodom tradition in Israel's own tradition.

³¹⁹ Nissinen, *Homoeroticism in the Biblical World*, 45-48.

To summarize, based on the aforementioned pointers ³²⁰ it seems that Paul is leading his readers (including Christians), Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify themselves with the fallen Adam as the one who does not glorify God or display the glory of God. One can argue that Paul is referring to the Genesis story in Romans 1:18-32.

Table 3.4. Allusions to the Jewish Texts in Romans 1:23 and 3:23

Biblical texts	What does the text allude to?
Romans 1:23; 3:23	Idolatry of Gentiles in Paul's time: 1) allusion to Adam's idolatry (Gen 1-3, 4-19) and 2) Israel's idolatry (Ps 106; Jer 2; Hosea 4; Deut 4:15-18; Exod 32-34)
Psalms 106:20	Exodus 32-34
Jeremiah 2:5, 11-12	Exodus 32-34
Hosea 4:7	Exodus 20, 32-24
Deuteronomy 4:15-18	Exodus 32-34 and Genesis 1-3
Exodus 20, 32-34	Genesis 1-3
Genesis 1-3	

While allusions to the creation story are more apparent, it seems that Paul refers to the fall and other subsequent stories as well (Table 3.4.). He makes these allusions to appeal to both Jewish and non-Jewish readers in order to lay a foundation for his argument that the sin-related problems of both are rooted in idolatry. For Paul, idolatry means failure to display and reflect the derivative characteristics of the *doxa* of God.

3.2.3.3. *The Echoes of Romans 1-3 Doxa Motif in the Apocalypse of Moses*

Besides apparent *doxa* allusions to the history of Israel found in the Jewish Scriptures and probable echoes to the creation-fall narrative in Genesis, there is a plausible literary influence, one way or another, between Romans 1-3 and the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* (also called *The Life of Adam and Eve* in Latin) regarding the *doxa* language. While the dating of this piece of literature is uncertain, ³²¹ it shares the same characteristics of Romans 1. The *doxa* word is used to describe the character of the Lord (4:1; 37:2) and the derivative presence (or the lack of it) of God's image in

³²⁰ Paul's argument that the sin of idolatry causes all humanity to lack God's *doxa* is also another possible allusion to Eden, where "man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God [ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ]" (Gen 3:8 LXX). The *doxa* of the Lord in the Jewish Scriptures is a reference to God's presence. Therefore, the lack of *doxa* indicates the lack of his presence—a possible allusion to the creation-fall narrative.

³²¹ It is hotly debated whether *The Life of Adam and Eve* is a Christian composition that originated as late as the third century AD or is of first-century Jewish origin. See Levison, "Adam and Eve in Romans 1:18-25."

the lives of Adam and Eve. The most outstanding similarity can be found in 21:1-6, where Adam accuses Eve after her leading them astray:

And I [Eve] cried out with a loud voice, saying, “Adam, Adam, where are you? Rise, come to me and I will show you a great mystery.” And when your [Seth] father came, I spoke to him unlawful words of transgression such as brought us down *from great glory* [δόξης]...“O evil woman! Why have you wrought destruction among us? You *have estranged me from the glory of God* [ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ].” (Apoc. Mos. 21:1-2, 6)³²²

Furthermore, the following quote reveals unmistakably how Adam and Eve are described as owning or possessing God’s derivative *doxa* before the fall:

At that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, “Why have you done this to me in that I have been estranged *from my glory* [δόξης] with which I was clothed?” (Apoc. Mos. 20:1-2)³²³

These texts bear witness that Paul’s contemporary Jewish tradition considered the Adamic image (εἰκόν) as synonymous with being clothed with the glory of God (δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ). Moreover, in the fall, Adam lost this *doxa*. One can see obvious parallels³²⁴ with the texts from the *Apocalypse of Moses* and with Romans 1:23 and 3:23 here.³²⁵

³²² See also Byrskog, “Christology and Identity in an Intertextual Perspective,” 1-18.

³²³ The devil lost his glory as well in the Latin version of *The Life of Adam and Eve*: “The devil spoke: ‘O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth’ (LAE 12:1). See also “When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: ‘O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself hath lost’ (LAE 17:1). See also 18:1-6 “Then the serpent said to me, ‘May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not have you ignorant. But arise, come here, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree.’ But I said to him, ‘I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us.’ And he said to me: ‘Fear not, for as soon as you eat of it, you too shall be as God, in that you shall know good and evil. But God perceived this that you would be like Him, so he envied you and said, you shall not eat of it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and you will see its great glory. Yet I feared to take of the fruit. And he said to me: ‘Come here, and I will give it you. Follow me’” (LAE 18:1-6; cf. 16:1-4). See also Karl-Gustav Sandelin, “Adam, Eva och djävulen,” in *Sophia och hennes värld: exegetiska uppsatser från fyra årtionden*, Studier i exegetik och judaistik utgivna av Teologiska fakulteten vid Åbo Akademi Nr. 6 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi Tryckeri, 2008), 240–245.

³²⁴ Levison states it well: “Principal among these are the suppressing of truth, the advent of divine anger, the onset of death, and most notably, two related exchanges – God’s glory to mortality and natural dominion for unnatural subservience to animals.” Levison, “Adam and Eve in Romans 1:18-25,” Abstract.

³²⁵ Additionally, Paul may be referring to the pagan gods described in the Wisdom of Solomon (Wis 11:15 [ἐρπετὰ]; 12:24; 13:1 [μύταιος, φύσις]; 13:10, 13-14; 14:8 [φθαρτός]; 15-21; 14:26-27 [γενέσεως ἐναλλαγῇ]; 15:18-19 and seen in the cities that he visited. There are some lexical connections, though not enough to make a case for dependency. For example, “Disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, *changing of kind* [γενέσεως ἐναλλαγῇ], disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness. For the *worshipping of idols* not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end, of all evil.” While this could allude to marriages between Jews and non-Jews, this may possibly be behind Paul’s negative view of same-sex engagement (Wis 14:26-27). See, for example, Nissinen, *Homoeroticism in the Biblical World*, 106. See also Wis 11:15, “For the foolish devices of their wickedness, wherewith being deceived they worshipped serpents [ἐρπετὰ] void of reason, and vile beasts [κνώδαλα], they sent a multitude of unreasonable beasts upon them for vengeance.” See also Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 26, 48-49; and Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26f*, 180-188.

3.2.4. Romans 1-3 *Doxa* References in Light of Paul's Contemporary Culture

To argue for a strong Jewish background for *doxa* as the intrinsic identity of God and as the displayed identity of Adam (i.e. humanity) and Israel is not to claim that Paul did not refer to a contemporary *doxa* identification as well. Paul sets up narrative characters from the Jewish Scriptures to compare with the characters found in his contemporary social setting. Possibly there are contemporary non-Jewish references with which Paul wants his audience to identify and make comparison in relation to *doxa* to accomplish his own purpose.

As described in the background chapter, according to Harrison, Emperor identification as glory (and as savior and god) is a potential background to Romans 1 as well. Harrison contends that Paul rebukes the cult of Emperor worship because of its idolatrous nature.³²⁶ The Emperor as glory has taken the Creator's place in the minds and lives of Gentiles.³²⁷ Despite Harrison's suggestion, the Pauline text itself does not refer to Emperor worship. John Barclay argues emphatically that Paul has no need to include any underlying rhetoric against the Roman Empire.³²⁸ Therefore, Paul's primary undergirding narrative in relation to *doxa* lies in the development of the Jewish story and the characters found there. The Greco-Roman imperial cult worship, however, offers a social setting that allows him to apply the Jewish narrative to the contemporary social context as well.

Also, as Huttunen has shown, there is an apparent parallelism between Paul's argumentation in Romans 1:18-32 and the Stoic view of natural law. It seems, therefore, that Paul points to the Genesis creation story to parallelize it with ethics based on the Stoic natural law. So why does Paul appeal to the Genesis creation-fall narrative and Israel's history (from other Jewish Scriptures) to address the problem of Gentiles? First, Paul shows that the indignation of the Gentile audience is fundamentally the same as that found in creation-fall stories of Adam and Israel. Israel's story is a re-incarnation of the story of creation and the fall. For Paul, the creation-fall story is not only Jewish history, it is also the history of all humanity, including first-century Romans. Additionally, Paul uses the argumentation as a preview to set a trap for his Jewish audience. His reference to Jewish texts sets up the argument for chapter 2, where he turns his critical attention to the Jewish people. Finally, Paul is not necessarily trying to address each group's individual problems as much as he wants to give them a *common identity* in the fallen Adam and,

³²⁶ Mark Reasoner takes a middle position between John Barclay and N. T. Wright, positing that the imperial texts have "analogous resonance with ideas in the New Testament." Mark Reasoner, *Roman Imperial Texts: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 4.

³²⁷ See also Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*.

³²⁸ Barclay, *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews*, 345-262.

consequently, keep the group together.³²⁹ In other words, for Paul, the creation-fall story, i.e. the argument from Jewish Scriptures, and the general revelation available to his contemporary audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, manifest the same point. It is as if the idolatry of Genesis 1-3, namely exchanging the *doxa* of God for that of creatures, is happening continually. Not only does it take place in the history of the Israelites, but it also displays itself in the lives of first-century Romans.

3.2.5. Summary

To conclude, Paul uses *doxa* and its derivatives four times (Rom 1:21; 23; 2:7; 3:23) in Romans 1-3. For Paul's *doxa* motif narrative, this passage presents four pivotal points. First, in Romans 1-3 Paul describes God's essential and intrinsic character as *doxa* and uses synonymous terms such as incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος), truth (ἀλήθεια), honor (τιμή), and eternal life (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). Paul's understanding of God as *doxa* is rooted in Jewish Scriptures. Second, Paul considers humanity to be God's derivative *doxa* that was created to represent God as His image. Therefore, "lacking the *doxa* of God" is rooted in idolatry and for Paul defines sin. Third, Paul depicts the Golden Calf narratives and interpretations and the Genesis creation-fall story as the pattern to be identified with the fallen Adam and with Israel, who both lack the *doxa* of God. While the allusions to several Jewish Scriptures (Ps 105:20 LXX; Jer 2; Deut 4:15-18; Hosea 4:7) in relation to Israel's Golden Calf episode are more apparent and less controversial, Paul seems to allude intentionally to the creation-fall story found in Genesis as well to represent both Adam and Israel as foundational derivative *doxa* characters in his narrative. The appeal to identify with the characters in Jewish Scripture is not limited to the Israelites, but also includes his contemporary Greco-Roman audience as well. Paul's tactic is to equate the creation-fall narratives of Adam and Israel from Jewish Scriptures with the idolatry of his contemporary Gentile audience. Finally, being aware of the emperor identification as *doxa* as well as the Stoic natural law setting, Paul applies his *doxa* narrative to his contemporary audience, rebuking their misdirected identity.

Thus, in Romans 1 Paul describes a need for the vindication of God's intrinsic *doxa* because God's derived *doxa*, namely humanity and Israel, does not represent God appropriately, and identifies all peoples with idolatry rather than with the *doxa* of God. Paul directs his readers deliberately to the creation and fall stories of Adam and Israel as the pattern of idolatry and the lack of the *doxa* of God.

³²⁹ See Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology*, 39.

3.3. Male and Female as the Image and the *Doxa* of God in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

While Romans 1:18-32 talks about the worship of God in general *doxa* terms, Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 discusses a mishandled situation in relation to a specific setting of community worship in Corinth. The seemingly abrupt nature of this passage and non-Pauline vocabulary has caused some to consider it an interpolation,³³⁰ but those claims seem to be unwarranted.³³¹ However, this passage is quite enigmatic³³² and convoluted in terms of its own cultural-social setting as well as its apparent theological emphasis. Because of the difficulties and complicated issues discussed in the passage, the history of its interpretation is quite multifaceted.³³³ Many background problems have been suggested.³³⁴ The scope of my research problem and the aim of my thesis limits the

³³⁰ William O. Walker, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *JBL* 94 (1976): 94-110; G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and Its Context," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 196-215; William O. Walker, "The Vocabulary of 1 Corinthians 11.3-16 Pauline or Non-Pauline?," *JSNT* 25 (1989): 75-88; Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters*, 91-126; Wolfgang Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther* (Zürich: Benzinger Verlag, neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 2:496-497; Antoinette Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 116-34; Christopher Mount, "1 Corinthians 11:3-16: Spirit Possession and Authority in a Non-Pauline Interpolation," *JBL* 124 (2005): 313-40.

³³¹ J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16?," *JBL* 95 (1976): 615-621; W. F. Orr and J. W. Walther, *Corinthians: A New Translation: Introduction with a Study of the Life of Paul, Notes, and Commentary*, AB 32 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 259-262; John P. Meier, "On the Veiling of Hermeneutics (1 Cor 11.2-16)," *CBQ* 40 (1978), 218; Anthony Thiselton, "Realized Eschatology at Corinth," *NTS* 24 (1978), 520-21; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 482-500; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 81-94. Walker's second article regarding this issue, where he tries to prove that the vocabulary is not very Pauline and has many pseudo-Pauline elements, is not convincing, and the reasoning behind his categories and examples are somewhat circular. Any Pauline passage can be shown to be non-Pauline by this method. Walker's categories are: (1) Distinctively Pauline Vocabulary; (2) Characteristically but Not Distinctively Pauline Vocabulary; (3) Otherwise Non-Pauline but Not Identifiably Post-Pauline Vocabulary; (4) Distinctively Post-Pauline Vocabulary.

³³² Even though the structure of the passage is somewhat debated, it is best to see the passage structure as divided into five parts (Table 3.5.). Gordon Fee divides the passage into three parts (11:2-6, 7-12, 13-16). Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 491-530. Philip B. Payne divides the passage into seven parts. Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman – One in Christ – Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 109-210.

³³³ For a history of interpretation, see Philip Brown, "A Survey of the History of the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Aldersgate Forum* 2011, May 8, 2014, <http://comeafterme.com>; L. A. Jervis, "But I Want you to Know ...": Paul's Midrashic Intertextual Response to the Corinthian Worshippers (1 Cor 11.2-16)," *JBL* 112.2: (1992): 231-46; Michael Lakey, *Image and Glory of God: I Corinthians 11:2-16 as a Case Study in Bible, Gender and Hermeneutics*, LNTS 418 (London: T & T Clark, 2010). Lakey has a detailed history of interpretation, including a cosmological interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. Kari Elisabeth Børresen has also written two helpful articles on patristic and medieval interpretation regarding this passage. Kari Elisabeth Børresen, "God's Image, Is Woman Excluded? Medieval Interpretation of Gen 1,27 and I Cor 11,7," in *The Image of God: Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition*, ed. Kari Elisabeth Børresen (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991), 208-227; Kari Elisabeth Børresen, "God's Image, Man's image? Patristic Interpretation of Gen 1,27 and I Cor 11,7," in *The Image of God: Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition*, ed. Kari Elisabeth Børresen (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991), 188-207.

³³⁴ Interpreters do not agree, whether the problem lays with what kind of head covering, hairstyles, or the length of the hair, whether the problem covers only women, or women and men, whether it is grounded on theological roots, or influenced by realized eschatology that eradicated the conventional roles of women and men or even sexes being

discussion, however, to the use and understanding of *doxa* (used three times 11:7 [x2] and 11:15) in this passage.

I will now explore the four main questions in this passage regarding the derivative *doxa* of God displayed in humanity. First, who does Paul call as the *doxa* of God? Second, what kind of role does the creation-order play in Paul's argumentation to portray the relationship of male and female in terms of the image and *doxa* of God. Third, how does the social-cultural setting in the Corinthians' church help us to see the parallelism between Paul's appeal to the contemporary understanding of gender differences and the principle of the creation order in light of *doxa*? Fourth, what is Paul's theological foundation for his cultural application in relation to *doxa*?

Table 3.5. The Structure of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

An argument from God and Christ (1 Cor 11:2-3)		
Christ is the head (κεφαλή) of every man	man/husband is the head (κεφαλή) of woman/wife	God is the head (κεφαλή) Christ (representing the last Adam, male and female alike)
A cultural application (1 Cor 11:4-6)		
Man/husband who prays with his head covered dishonors the head (Christ)	Woman/wife prays uncovered: dishonors her head (man /husband)	
An argument from creation (1 Cor 11:7-10)		
Man is the image and glory [δόξα] of God	Woman/wife is the glory [δόξα] of man	
The dependency of man/husband and woman/wife on God and each other (1 Cor 11:11-13)		
In the Lord, woman or man are not independent of each other: Woman is from man and man comes (through) woman		
All things are from God		
An argument from common sense and nature (1 Cor 11:14-16)		
Man/husband wears long hair?	Woman/wife wears long hair?	

neutralized by transvestism. It simply is difficult, if not even impossible to state with certainty the problem that caused Paul to address the issue. See, Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 505-506.

3.3.1. The Image and Glory of God and the Creation Order

The first two occurrences of *doxa* take place in the section that argues from the creation narrative for the particular contemporary appearance attire of the worship setting in Corinth:

For a man [ἄνθρωπος] ought not to cover his head, since he is the image [εἰκὼν] and glory [δόξα] of God, (but) woman[γυνή] is the glory [δόξα] of the man/husband [ἄνθρωπος]. For man/husband was not made from woman/wife, but woman/wife from man/husband. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man. (1 Cor 11:7-8)

Paul explicitly calls the male/husband to be the image and *doxa* of God (1 Cor 11:7) after the story of creation. This description of humanity is one of the most unambiguous accounts of humankind as the derived *doxa* of God. In 1 Corinthians 11:7 the *doxa* of God is given only to the male (or husband; ἄνθρωπος). Some suggest that Paul followed the contemporary Jewish tradition (at least as found in Philo) that considered Genesis 1:27 to apply only to man, not to woman.³³⁵ But that is hardly Paul's point, because later he states, "Just as *we* have borne the image [εἰκὼν] (of the man) of dust, we shall also bear the image [εἰκὼν] (of the second man, Christ) of heaven" (1 Cor 15:49), indicating that every human being shares the image of God.³³⁶

The order of the man-woman creation gives the foundation (γάρ), however, for Paul's view that female/woman glory is derived from male/husband's glory. Paul most likely draws his understanding of image and glory and creation order from the creation account (Gen 1:26-27; 2:18-23).

God said, 'Let us make humankind [ἄνθρωπον] according to our image [κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν] and according to likeness [καθ' ὁμοίωσιν] and let them rule the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky and the cattle and all the earth and all the creeping things that creep upon the earth.' And God made humankind [ἄνθρωπον]; according to divine image [εἰκόνα] he made it; male [ἄρσεν] and female [θῆλυ] he made them. (Gen 1:26 LXX NETS)

Out of her husband [ἀνδρὸς] she was taken. (Gen 2:23 LXX NETS)

³³⁵ Philo says, "Why, as other animals and as man also was made, the woman was not also made out of the earth, but out of the rib of the man? (Gen 2:21). This was so ordained in the first place, in order that *the woman might not be of equal dignity with the man* [emphasis mine]. In the second place, that she might not be of equal age with him, but younger; since those who marry wives more advanced in years than themselves deserve blame, as having overturned the law of nature. Thirdly, the design of God was, that the husband should take care of his wife, as of a necessary part of himself; but that the woman should requite him in turn with service, as a portion of the universe. In the fourth place, he admonishes man by this enigmatical intimation, that he should take care of his wife as of his daughter; and he admonishes the woman that she should honour her husband as her father. And very rightly, since the woman changes her habitation, passing from her own offspring to her husband. On which account, it is altogether right and proper that he who has received should take upon himself the liability in respect of what has been given; and that she who has been removed should worthily give the same honour to her husband which she has previously given to her parents; for the husband receives his wife from her parents, as a deposit which is entrusted to him; and the woman receives her husband from the law." Philo, *QG* 1, 27. Cf. Apoc. Mos. 10-12; 21:6; 2 En. 21:3; Gen. Rab. 8:10; 12:6.

³³⁶ Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, "1 Corinthians," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 732-733.

Paul makes, however, a significant addition; δόξα is not found, as we have indicated earlier, in the Genesis account. From where does Paul obtain his concept of δόξα coupled with εἰκὼν, and what does it signify in this passage? It is possible that Paul has replaced ὁμοίωμα (likeness) found in the LXX with δόξα.³³⁷ Additionally, Paul makes a connection between the image of God and glory from the Old Testament motif of God's glory.³³⁸ God's image and glory (δόξα) are associated in Jewish Scriptures, as I have shown above.³³⁹ So even though Genesis does not mention *doxa*, the concept is found in a Jewish tradition, and Paul seems to follow it. Most directly, he seems to draw, without direct quotation, from Psalm 8, which itself seems to be an interpretation of Genesis 1.³⁴⁰ Paul "connects the *Imago Dei* with the concept of the divine glory (*doxa*). The way was paved by the Old Testament, most directly by the declaration in Psalm 8:5 that God has crowned humankind with 'glory and honor.'"³⁴¹

Paul nuances the glories of man and woman by recognizing the creative order found in the Genesis account.³⁴² According to Norbert Baumert, this model does not place emphasis on the inferiority of woman, but rather sees woman as the ultimate glory of humankind.³⁴³ However, in

³³⁷ Anthony Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 833. See also Rom 1:23; 5:14; 6:5; 8:3; Phil 2:7 for the use of ὁμοίωμα in Paul (cf. Jas 3:9 ὁμοίωσιν).

³³⁸ Paul Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred*, trans. David Pellauer (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 267-68.

³³⁹ See my discussion in 2.3.3. Cf. Morna Hooker, "Authority on Her Head: An Examination of I Corinthians 11:10," *NTS* 10 no 3 (April 1964): 410-416, 411; Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26f*, 100-113; Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 120; J. B. Hurley, "Man and Woman in 1 Corinthians" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1973), 171-174.

³⁴⁰ Meredith Kline states, "Image and glory appear as twin models in the Bible for expressing man's likeness to the divine Original. If they are to be distinguished, the distinction might be that image-likeness is reflection of the original. Or, that image is static and expresses the fact of imageness, i.e., that man is secondary, not the original but different from it because of his createdness, while *glory* is active and expresses the content of the image, i.e. that man is similar to God in those features comprised by the concept of glory...Both image and glory means likeness." "Under the concept of man as the glory-image of God the Bible includes functional (or official), formal (or physical), and ethical components, corresponding to the composition of the archetypal Glory. Functional glory-likeness is man's likeness to God in the possession of official authority and in the exercise of dominion. Ethical glory is reflection of the holiness, righteousness, and truth of the divine Judge (not just the presence of a moral faculty of any religious orientation whatsoever). And the formal-physical glory-likeness is man's bodily reflection of the theophanic and Incarnate glory." Kline, "Creation on the Image of the Glory-Spirit," 268.

³⁴¹ Stanley Grenz, *The Social God and the Relational Self: A Trinitarian Theology of the Imago Dei* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 205. Additionally, as my background chapter discussion evidenced, it is possible that Paul also drew from other Jewish Scriptures that describe Israel as God's glory as well as from other ancient texts. So, God, who created the world, has also displayed his own glory in humanity and in Israel. According to Greg Beale, this concept of god having made His glory shine through His image is also found in non-Jewish literature. For example, Ramses II says about his relationship to his god: "I am thy son whom thou hast placed upon thy throne. Thou hast assigned to me thy kingdom, thou hast fashioned me in thy likeness and thy form, which thou hast fashioned me in thy likeness and thy form." Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 88-90.

³⁴² A similar kind of model is expressed in Proverbs 11:16 LXX (γυνὴ εὐχάριστος ἐγείρει ἀνδρὶ δόξαν) and in 1 Esdra 4:17 LXX (αὐταὶ ποιοῦσιν δόξαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις).

³⁴³ Norbert Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers: Übersetzung und Auslegung des ersten Korintherbriefes* (Würzburg: Echter, 2007), 163. "Entsprechend nun bei der Frau: Sie wird nicht 'Bild' oder gar, 'Abbild' des Mannes genannt, sondern *doxa* – 'Herrlichkeit', und das heißt wiederum Ausstrahlung des Mannes, von ihm als Ursprung herkommend, aber nicht als ein minderere 'Abglanz' (EÜ), sondern eher als der Höhepunkt menschlichen Wesens, so Wie die 'Herrlichkeit Gottes' der Höhepunkt seiner Offenbarung ist, nicht sein 'blasser Abglanz.'"

the Genesis narrative, to which Paul refers, man was created first (Gen 2:7) and then woman was created out of him, as his helper (Gen 2:22; 1 Cor 11:8-9; cf. 1 Tim 2:13). For Paul, the order of creation shows the derivative relationship of male/husband and female/wife in relation to glory.³⁴⁴ In this manner “she completes the man and creation.”³⁴⁵ Female/wife is to relate to male/husband in all engagements, including the community worship setting, by not jeopardizing the gender distinctions modeled after the creation order.

At the same time, Paul reminds us that the existence of both genders is completely dependent on God. Humanity, both male and female, is derived from God. While in creation male was made first and female was made out of (ἐκ) male (1 Cor 11:8, 12), afterwards male is born through (διὰ) female (1 Cor 11:11-12; cf. Gal 3:28). Although this does not negate the apparel of gender roles in the worship setting, it places them in the ultimate perspective: both genders owe their whole existence to God. In this way, in terms of *doxa*, the role of female/wife in relation to male/husband in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 becomes analogous to humankind’s relationship to God.

3.3.2. The Image and *Doxa* of God Applied to Paul’s Contemporary Social Setting

Paul uses the creational order of male and female in relation to the image and *doxa* of God to build a case for an attire code to be practiced in the contemporary Greco-Roman socio-cultural setting. In other words, Paul desires the physical appearance of Gentile believers to reflect the creational order of God’s image and the *doxa* of maleness and femaleness. Paul seems to be concerned with portraying two distinctive genders based on the creation order. The creation order gives a foundation for his warning not to wear any attire that is dishonouring to one’s gender. The importance of distinctives in masculine and feminine appearance in contrast to each other dominates Paul’s thinking.

For males, Paul gives instructions for their appearance to reflect the image and *doxa* of God. There are two particularities in relation to the *doxa* motif. First, “a man ought not to cover his head [Ἄνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν], since he is the image and glory of God” (1 Cor 11:7). This phrase and the earlier similar rendering in 11:4 are difficult to translate: is Paul talking about a head covering, long hair, or inappropriate hair style?³⁴⁶ Even though the Jewish

³⁴⁴ Also, a text found in a Roman catacomb reads, ἡ δόξα Σωφρονίου Λούκυλλα εὐλογημένη (Blessed Lucilla, the glory of Sophronius). I am indebted to David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe: Volume 2, The City of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 274.

³⁴⁵ Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 523.

³⁴⁶ Scholars are divided over the meaning of the phrase κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων in 11:4 between either having a liturgical head covering (i.e. some kind of material on the head), inappropriate hair style or long hair. After a long discussion, Thiselton concludes that having “the head covered remains more probable, yet not decisively so.” (Thiselton, *The First*

texts (Exod 28:4, 36-40; Ezek 44:18; cf. Deut 22:12) and contemporary custom (*tallit*) do not seem to prevent wearing something over a man's head, the pagan practice of pulling a toga over the head as a religious worship custom may provide the background for Paul's restrictions.³⁴⁷ Perhaps, Paul does not want the Christian male of gentile background to be associated with a pagan attirement practice. Or possibly the veil would "rob his own head of its chief function of reflecting the glory of Christ."³⁴⁸

Second, Paul asks rhetorically,³⁴⁹ "Does not nature (φύσις) itself teach you that if a man wears long hair (κομῆ) it is a disgrace (ἀτιμία) for him?" (1 Cor 11:14). Φύσις here probably refers to the contemporary culture denoting "how things are" in societal terms, though it is in this context (cf. Rom 1:26) linked to Paul's argumentation on the creation order as a whole as well. On one hand, many ancient texts indicate that long hair on men was considered effeminate, disgraceful, and abnormal in the Greco-Roman culture.³⁵⁰ On the other hand, the Hebrew Scriptures sometimes

Epistle to the Corinthians, 823-826). Baumert suggests that men should not treat the head in an inappropriate manner or hairstyle (Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers*, 159-160). According to W. J. Martin, L. B. Hurley, Alan Padgett, Richard Horsley, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, and Kirk MacGregor, however, κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων is a reference to *long hair*. Moreover, according to MacGregor, it is "highly probable that κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων refers to long hair, as seen in verses 14-15. Consequently, Paul forbade men from wearing long hair and women from wearing short hair. Drawing on contemporaneous Jewish, Greek, and Roman sources, this article identifies the purpose of Paul's injunction as the prohibition of both homosexuality in the church at large and the particular practices of men and women appearing and behaving in ways characteristic of the opposite sex which were indicative of homosexuality." Kirk R. MacGregor, "Is 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 a Prohibition of Homosexuality?," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 166 no 662 (Apr 2009): 201-216, 202. Cf. W. J. Martin, "1 Cor 11:2-16: An Interpretation," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Presented to F.F. Bruce*, ed. W. Ward Gasque and R. P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 233; J. B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1981); Alan Padgett, "Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16," *JSNT* 20 (1984), 70; Richard A. Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, Abingdon New Testament Commentaries (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 154; Jeremy Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Cor 11:2-16 Once Again," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 482-500; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Cor 11:2-16?" *JBL* 95 (1976): 615-2; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 279; David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41, no. 2 (1990): 245-260; Richard Oster, "Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians" (1Cor 7:1-5; 8:10; 11:2-16; 12:14-26)," *ZAW* 83 (1992): 52-73.

³⁴⁷ Plutarch, *Quaest. rom.*, 10; Valerie M. Warrior, *Roman Religion*, Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21; Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume* (New York: Fairchild Books, 2010), 86.

³⁴⁸ C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2nd ed. Black's New Testament Commentary (London: A & C Black, 1991), 250. Cf. Ernest-Bernard Allo, *Saint Paul: Première Épître aux Corinthiens*, Études Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1956), 257-259.

³⁴⁹ Contra Padgett, who considers that Paul is making a negative statement. Padgett, "Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16," 70.

³⁵⁰ "If a child is a boy, do not let locks grow on his head. Braid not his crown nor make cross-knots on the top of his head. *Long hair* [κόμην] is not fit for men, but for voluptuous women. Guard the youthful beauty of a comely boy, because many rage for intercourse with a man" (*The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 210-214). "Young man, whom do you wish to make beautiful? First, learn who you are. . . . Your reason is the element of superiority which you possess; adorn and beautify that, but leave your hair to God who fashioned it as He willed. Come, what other designations apply to you? Are you a man or a woman? A man. Very well then, adorn a man, not a woman. Woman is born smooth and dainty by nature, and if she has much hair she is a sensation and is seen in Rome among the beauties. But for a man not to have much hair is the same thing. . . . But what of a man who wishes to be a woman rather than a man? What a dreadful spectacle! All will be scandalized. . . . Man, what reason do you have to reproach

consider long hair in a positive light (Judg 16; 2 Sam 14:25; cf. 2 Sam 18:9). The vow of a Nazirite required an Israelite male to keep his hair long (Numb 6:14ff), and first-century Jews, including the converted Paul, also followed this ritual (Acts 18:18; 21:24).³⁵¹ Having said that, in this context long hair for men is unnatural. Long hair is not only unnatural to man, but it is also dishonoring (ἀτιμία) to him in the church gathering in Corinth. Ἀτιμία is the opposite of δόξα here (so also in Rom 1:26; 1 Cor 15:43; 2 Cor 6:8; cf. Rom 9:21; 2 Tim 2:20, Diog 5:14), highlighting the pervasive theme of the entire passage: shame and honor in the worship setting.

Concerning women, there are two references to *doxa*. A woman is the *doxa* of man (11:7) and a woman's long hair is her *doxa* (11:15). Paul argues that the appearance of a woman's hair needs to reflect the creational order of maleness and femaleness in light of the glory and image of God. Moreover, Paul prohibits the women in Corinth—perhaps after the practice of Pythia in Delphi or Sibyl³⁵²—from overly exuberant behavior or from giving subtle yet inappropriate sexual signs to the men attending the gathering of believers.

your nature? Because it brought you into the world as a man? What then? Ought it to have brought all persons into the world as women? . . . Transform yourself entirely into a woman so that we cannot deceive ourselves. Do not be half-man and half-woman. . . . Shall we make a man like you a citizen of Corinth or a warden of the city?" (Epictetus, *Discourses* 3.1.24-36); Lucian describes "a woman with her hair closely clipped in the Spartan manner, boyish-looking and wholly masculine." (Lucian, *Fug.* 27). "Her head was shaved close, just like the manliest of athletes" (Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 5.3). "Short hair was normal for a man, and therefore a woman who wanted to disguise herself as a man cut her hair short" (Apuleius, *Metam.* 7.6). Philo states: "Moreover, another evil, much greater than that which we have already mentioned, has made its way among and been let loose upon cities, namely, the love of boys, which formerly was accounted a great infamy even to be spoken of, but which sin is a subject of boasting not only to those who practice it, but even to those who suffer it, and who, being accustomed to bearing the affliction of being treated like women, waste away as to both their souls and bodies, not bearing about them a single spark of a manly character to be kindled into a flame, *but having even the hair of their heads conspicuously curled and adorned*, and having their faces smeared with vermilion, and paint, and things of that kind, and having their eyes pencilled beneath, and having their skins anointed with fragrant perfumes (for in such persons as these a sweet smell is a most seductive quality), and being well appointed in everything that tends to beauty or elegance, are not ashamed to devote their constant study and endeavours to the task of *changing their manly character into an effeminate one* [τὴν ἄρρενα φύσιν ἐπιτηδεύσει τεχνάζοντες εἰς θήλειαν μεταβάλλειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι]. And it is natural for those who obey the law to consider such persons worthy of death, since the law commands that the man-woman who adulterates the precious coinage of his nature [ἀνδρόγυνον τὸ φύσεως νόμισμα παρακόπτοντα νηποίνει τεθνάναι] shall die without redemption, not allowing him to live a single day, or even a single hour, as he is a disgrace to himself, and to his family, and to his country, and to the whole race of mankind. And let the man who is devoted to the love of boys submit to the same punishment, since he pursues that pleasure which is contrary to nature [παρὰ φύσιν]... And some of these persons have even carried their admiration of these delicate pleasures of youth so far that they have desired wholly to change their condition for that of women, and have castrated themselves and have clothed themselves in purple robes." Philo, *Special Laws* III: 37-39a, 41a. Cf. Philip B. Payne, "Wild Hair and Gender Equality in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," in *Priscilla Papers* 20:3 (Summer 2006), 9-15, 9. Payne, *Man and Woman One in Christ*, 109-216; MacGregor, "Is 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 a Prohibition of Homosexuality?" 210-213. See also Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Cor 11:2-16 Once Again," 482-500; Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 257.

³⁵¹ See Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers*, 169. While Paul or other New Testament writers do not talk about the hairstyle of Jesus, he is depicted as having a long hair in much later iconography.

³⁵² Baumert suggests that the pagan prophetic practice of Pythia in Delphi or Sibyls of a certain hairstyle could be referenced here. He states, "vielleicht dachten sie noch immer an heidnische Prophetinnen, an die Pythia in Delphi oder die Sibylle, die unter der prophetischen Inspiration zuweilen mit den Haaren gestikulierten." Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers*, 160.

Francis Watson believes that the narrative of Susanna found in the Septuagint version of the book of Daniel “offers crucial insights into the meaning of the Pauline text.”³⁵³ According to Watson, the lustful elders wanted to see Susanna uncover (ἀποκαλύπτω) her face (though not necessarily undress).³⁵⁴ Given this cultural background from which Paul draws, Watson believes that Paul changes the meaning of *doxa* in the middle of the sentence from a theological emphasis (man as the manifestation [δόξα] of God) to an object of devotion. He commands woman, as man’s *doxa*, to be covered because she is his object of love, devotion, and erotic joy.³⁵⁵

It seems, however, somewhat unwarranted and unlikely for Paul to change the meaning of *doxa* from “manifestation” to the “object of devotion, love and erotic joy” in mid-sentence.³⁵⁶ Such interpretation can be done by analyzing the narrative of Susanna and introducing it as Paul’s background for the passage. But a question remains: did Paul and his audience truly have this meaning in mind?

³⁵³ Francis Watson, *Agape, Eros, Gender: Towards a Pauline Sexual Ethic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 49. See also Francis Watson, “The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 520-36.

³⁵⁴ Watson states, “The story does presuppose a tradition in which the female face is an object of such intense erotic concern that, in the public realm outside the immediate sphere of the family, it must be concealed behind a veil. Susanna’s entire bodily beauty is concentrated in her face, and the narrative assumes that in the covering of the face is itself sufficient to satisfy male desire . . . the woman who deliberately appears in public with unveiled face, displaying herself as the object of the erotic male gaze, must be held responsible for the shame that falls especially upon her husband. Or so one might conclude if, like Paul, one shared the cultural assumptions implied in the Susanna narrative.” Watson, *Agape, Eros, Gender*, 52.

³⁵⁵ Watson concludes, “This sense of *doxa* makes 1 Corinthians 11.7 comprehensible: man as the manifestation of God should not be veiled, but woman as the object of man’s erotic joy, love and devotion should be veiled. Why? Because it is her face that is the focal point for the male erotic drive, which – contrary to our earlier, more negative impression – may intend to honour her and may be gladly reciprocated in the mutuality to which eros aspires, but which has no place within the agape at the heart of the congregation’s being and life. This human attraction to the glory of the other is real enough, and the congregation will have to accommodate it and will not wish simply to deny it. But, as a sign that the togetherness of man and woman ‘in the Lord’ is not the togetherness of eros, it is appropriate that the glory should lie concealed behind a veil. The Pauline veil invites theological reflection not on the problem of a ‘hierarchical’ ordering of the sexes and the possibility of an ‘egalitarian’ alternative, but on the difference between agape and eros as the basis for the togetherness of man and woman in Christ. . . . The interpretation of *doxa* in v. 7b as the object of joy and love is crucial to this interpretation of the passage in terms of the eros problematic. Even if in association with ‘image’ *doxa* can mean ‘reflection’, it is hard to see how this sense can be carried over into the second half of the verse.” Ibid., 56-57.

³⁵⁶ Troy Martin argues for even stronger sexual connotations regarding δόξα and a woman’s head. He writes, “This ancient physiological conception of hair indicates that Paul’s argument from nature in 1 Cor 11:13-15 contrasts long hair in women with testicles in men. Paul states that appropriate to her nature, a woman is not given an external testicle (περιβόλαιον, 1 Cor 11:15b) but rather hair instead. Paul states that long hollow hair on a woman’s head is her glory (δόξα, 1 Cor 11:15) because it enhances her female φύσις, which is to draw in and retain semen. Since female hair is part of the female genitalia, Paul asks the Corinthians to judge for themselves whether it is proper for a woman to display her genitalia when praying to God (1 Cor 11:13). Informed by the Jewish tradition, which strictly forbids display of genitalia when engaged in God’s service, Paul’s argument from nature cogently supports a woman’s covering her head when praying or prophesying.” Troy Martin, “Paul’s Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13-15: A Testicle Instead of a Head Covering,” *JBL* 123 (2004): 75-84, 83. See also Christopher Mount, “1 Corinthians 11:3-16: Spirit Possession and Authority in a Non-Pauline Interpolation,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 313-40. Mark Goodacre has satisfactorily proved this interpretation false. See Mark Goodacre, “Does περιβόλαιον Mean ‘Testicle’ in 1 Corinthians 11:15?,” *JBL* 130 (2011): 391-396.

In his recent article, Preston Massey makes a similar conclusion from different textual background evidence.³⁵⁷ After examining several texts from Greco-Roman culture,³⁵⁸ he concludes that Paul both highlights the female's beauty and protects her from the unnecessary subtle sexual connotations that long, loose hair was to communicate. Massey concludes:

The cultural concept of the veil as enhancing a female sexual charm conforms to Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 11:15: γυνή δὲ ἐὰν κομᾷ δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστίν ("but if a woman has long hair, it is her glory"). In other words, the text becomes more intelligible if we understand that a veil is covering a married woman's head while at the same time not obscuring the fact she has long hair "to her glory."³⁵⁹

Massey's understanding seems to be more balanced. In other words, by using *doxa* as a reference to something that signifies woman's hair and as an indication of her being a man's *doxa*, Paul calls woman to portray their femininity as a distinct gender through their dress code without, however, exposing others to a perception of sexual availability.

The honor and shame motif dominates the discussion on women as well. Paul considers women who pray or prophesize with their heads uncovered (ἀκατακαλύπτω) dishonor (κατασχύνει) themselves (1 Cor 11:5). It is also disgraceful (αἰσχρὸν) for a woman to shave her head (1 Cor 11:6) and to be uncovered. Paul seems to argue from the creation order (γάρ x2 in 1 Cor 11:7-8 and διὰ τοῦτο in 1 Cor 11:10) for these cultural mandates. Moreover, the long hair of a woman or wife is her glory (δόξα; 1 Cor 11:15).

The rhetoric of shame and honor in Paul's argumentation, especially in reference to the culture of Corinth, has been noted in recent scholarship.³⁶⁰ Most recently, Mark Finney also approaches the passages from this social honor/shame perspective.³⁶¹ He notes how strongly-defined gender roles existed in the culture, bringing potential shame or honor according to the degree to which they were observed. According to Finney, "Paul's argument here is one based on

³⁵⁷ Preston Massey, "Long Hair as a Glory and a Covering: Removing an Ambiguity from 1 Cor. 11:15," *NT* 53 no 1 (2011): 52-72.

³⁵⁸ E.g. Homer, *Il.* 3:141; 14:183-184; 22:405-406; 466-472; Homer, *Od.* 1.330-335; 4:623; 6:100; 10:545. Plutarch, *Rom.* 19; Plutarch, *Mor.* 267A, 270D.

³⁵⁹ Massey, "Long Hair as a Glory and a Covering," 71. Cf. Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 33.

³⁶⁰ Judith Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method," in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche. Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher*, ed. J. Adna, S. J. Hafemann, and O. Hofius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 151-171; Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 28-62; Halvor Moxnes, "Honor, Shame and the Outside World," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism*, ed. J. Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 207-218. I am indebted to Anthony Thiselton for these references.

³⁶¹ Mark Finney, "Honour, Head-coverings and Headship: 1 Corinthians 11.2-16 in its Social Context," *JSNT* 33 no 1 (2010): 31-58.

distinctive and suitable gender roles for a worshipping community under God.”³⁶² Moreover, “notions of honor come to the fore and higher-status male Corinthians are employing modes of head attire to maintain distinctions of status.”³⁶³

So well acknowledged is the language of shame and honor in the Roman culture that scholars have overlooked the lexical similarities of the shame/honor language found here and in Romans 1:18-32. As uncovered hair is shameful (καταισχύνει) to a woman’s head (1 Cor 11:5) so too is it shameful (αἰσχρὸς) to shave her head (1 Cor 11:6). For a man to cover his head is shameful (καταισχύνω) to his head (1 Cor 11:4), and Paul asks whether nature (φύσις) itself does not teach that long hair is dishonoring (ἀτιμία) (1 Cor 11:14). Similarly, in Romans 1, Paul’s main issue concerning sin is the idolatry of not glorifying God that resulted in various shameful acts that are dishonoring (ἀτιμία), against nature (παρὰ φύσιν), and shameful (ἀσχημοσύνη).³⁶⁴ Similarly, here a dishonoring and shameful code of appearance is not only because of the Roman culture, but has its undergirding framework in creational order and how one’s appearance honors God.³⁶⁵ Paul’s point is to urge believers in the public worship setting to present themselves in a God-honoring manner.

To avoid a shameful appearance in light of the social convention is important to Paul. Ultimately, however, honor and shame to God and Christ governs this passage. The lack of head covering shames a woman’s husband in the public worship setting because it is sexually suggestive, though possibly unintentionally so. The seriousness of the cultural hair style is not, however, sexual; rather, Paul leads the readers to a more conclusive consideration: what kind of attire ultimately honors one’s head: is it not Christ and God? Even the difficult phrase “because of the angels”³⁶⁶ can probably be best understood as “to glorify God in the company of the Heavenly host”³⁶⁷ making hair style an issue which concerns honoring God.

To conclude, Paul uses the creational order of male and female in relation to the *doxa* and image of God to build a case for an attire code to be practiced in the contemporary Greco-Roman socio-cultural setting. Furthermore, Paul desires the physical attire of Gentile believers to reflect the creational order of God’s image and the *doxa* of maleness and femaleness. The issue of equality

³⁶² Ibid., 53.

³⁶³ Ibid., 31.

³⁶⁴ Καταισχύνω and ἀσχημοσύνη are from two different words, yet they have the same root.

³⁶⁵ Martin, “1 Cor 11:2-16: An Interpretation,” 231-241; Murphy-O’Connor, “The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Cor 11:2-16?,” 615-21; Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective*. According to Garland, this stipulation meant men presenting themselves as male without conveying any “sexual ambiguity or hints of moral perversion,” Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 531.

³⁶⁶ See Thiselton’s thorough discussion on the phrase in Thiselton, *The First Epistle to Corinthians*, 839-841.

³⁶⁷ Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 128.

(1 Cor 11:11-12), yet with distinction of sexes, man and woman, drawn from creation then functions as the foundation for Paul's ethical teaching for the corporate worship context in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16. Even a perceived outlook of the other gender within the corporate worship would distract attention from God and Christ and not honor the Lord (cf. 1 Cor 6:9). Indeed it would go against the creative order of humankind as the *doxa* of God, if the physical gender distinctions would be perceived as unclear. Therefore, Paul highlights the importance of "gender differentiation"³⁶⁸ in Corinthians' worship setting for the sake of one's true head, which is God.

3.3.3. The Intrinsic Character and Derived Character of *Doxa* in Analogous Terms

Finally, Paul considers the man/husband and woman/wife relationship reflected in terms of *doxa* to be analogous to the relationship between God and Christ and between Christ and humankind. In other words, Paul depicts three different relationships of intrinsic and derived character in analogous terms: 1) male – female relationship, 2) God – Christ relationship, and 3) Christ – believers' relationship. In all of these relationships the first character functions as the intrinsic one in relation to the derived and displayed character of the second one.

By using three terms, κεφαλή, δόξα, and εἰκόν, Paul communicates the distinctions between the intrinsic character and the derived and displayed character. While these words are not synonymous with each other, all of them communicate the concept of representation of another.

What is the relationship between the κεφαλή passage in 11:3 and the *doxa* occurrences? Gordon Fee argues that there is no connection between κεφαλή mentioned in verse 3 and verses 7-9:

Except the allusion found in the further explanation in vv. 8-9 as to how woman is man's glory, nothing either in the language of this text or in its explicit statement directly refers back to v. 3. Thus the essential relationship for man posited in v. 3 (Christ being his head) is not so much as alluded to; rather, Paul is here concerned with man's relationship to God.³⁶⁹

Moreover, Fee denies Paul's interpretive efforts regarding Genesis 1:26-28. "Paul is certainly alluding to Gen 1:26-28; but he is not trying to interpret that text. . . . [T]he fact is that Paul makes nothing at all of the language, which derives directly from Gen. 1."³⁷⁰ I, however, believe that is exactly Paul's point in bringing κεφαλή, δόξα, and εἰκόν together in this passage.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 846.

³⁶⁹ Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 515.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 515.

³⁷¹ Conzelmann has made a similar suggestion: "It is not unintentionally that Paul, in the case of the woman, speaks of δόξα, and not also of εἰκόν. The formal sense of δόξα, because of its correspondence with εἰκόν, is 'reflection'."

Despite the numerous objections, the disputed term κεφαλή does not seem to be limited to the understanding of “source” but includes a connotation of headship, authority, representation, and prominence.³⁷² Paul quotes Genesis 2 to state that a woman comes out (ἐκ) of man, which seems to refer to a source. But the source also seems to indicate some kind of authority and representation. Whatever κεφαλή means, how Paul sees the relationship between God, Christ, man, and woman here and in the rest of his letters should be taken into account, especially in 1 Corinthians.³⁷³ An aspect that is sometimes overlooked is found here in 1 Corinthians 3:21-23 and 15:25-28.³⁷⁴

So let no one boast in men. For all things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or the present or the future—all are yours, and you are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s. (1 Cor 3:21-23)

But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the firstfruits [ἀπαρχή] of those who have fallen asleep. For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order [τάγματι]: Christ the firstfruits [ἀπαρχή], then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule [ἀρχήν] and every authority [ἐξουσίαν] and power [δύναμιν]. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death. For “God has put all things in subjection under his feet.” [Quotation from Ps 8:7 LXX]. But when it says, “all things are put in subjection [ὑπέταξεν],” it is plain that he is excepted who put all things in subjection [ὑποτέτακται] under him. When all things are subjected [τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος] to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected [ὑποτάσσω] to him who put all things in subjection [ὑποταγήσεται] under him, that God may be all in all. (1 Cor 15:20-28)

Paul quotes Psalm 8:7 to argue that Christ is an Adamic figure. As pointed out earlier, Psalm 8 probably alludes to Genesis 1, where Adam is depicted as the one whom God crowned with *doxa* and honor. Now, “God has put all things in subjection under His [Christ’s] feet.” Also, the reason for Christ being granted Adamic status is his death and resurrection, which are the the firstfruits,

Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 186-187.

³⁷² For those advocating “source,” see, for example, Payne, *Man and Woman One in Christ*, 117-139. Payne gives fifteen key reasons for this interpretation. He also gives an extensive bibliography for those who took the same position earlier. See also Baumert, *Sorgen Des Seelsorgers*, 158-160. For those favoring “head” and “authority over,” see Wayne Grudem, “The Meaning of Kefale (“Head”): An Evaluation of New Evidence, Real and Alleged,” *JETS* 44/1 (March 2001): 25-46, and idem., *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2004, 2012), 552-599; David Garland, *1 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 516; Joseph Fitzmyer, “Another Look at Kephale in 1 Corinthians 11:3,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 503-511. Thiselton suggests a reading that would be a third alternative, namely, “synecdoche and preeminence, foremost, topmost serving interactively as a metaphor drawn from the physiological head.” See Thiselton, *The First Epistle to Corinthians*, 816-822.

³⁷³ Contra Baumert, who denies any hierarchical connotation of κεφαλή in this passage. Baumert, *Sorgen Des Seelsorgers*, 158-159.

³⁷⁴ See Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 19-21, 37, 116-134.

in which believers will participate in the future as well. In other words, Christ's death and resurrection took place as the first among equals. Moreover, Christ will deliver the Kingdom *to* God the father in the *eschaton*. Furthermore, even though all things are subjected under Christ's feet, Christ is still subjected to God. Again, this echoes Psalm 8 and the Genesis story of Adam's primary leadership role in the garden under the authority of God. Lastly, in 1 Corinthians 3:21-23 Paul rebukes Corinthian believers for considering some leaders to have higher status than others. The reason for this rebuke is shocking: believers already own everything, yet they belong to Christ, who then belongs to God. We can conclude from this that in Paul's thought, as expressed in 1 Corinthians, Christ in his Adamic status still submits to God. Also, Christ represents all believers as a Psalm 8-type Adamic figure. In one sense Christ's role is equal to believers, yet his pre-eminence in his death and resurrection as the firstfruit sets him apart as the first one. After all, all things are subjected to him, equating Christ with God. While the believers already own all things, they do not need to cheer for entitlement, for they own all things exactly because they belong to Christ and Christ belongs to God.

Thus, in light of 1 Corinthians 3:21-23 and 15:20-28 it seems possible that for Paul, God being the κεφαλή of Christ indicates that Christ as the second Adam, unlike the first one, *subjects himself* to God. Similarly, Christ-believers are already united to participate in the *doxa* of everything that Christ has gone through, namely the crucifixion and resurrection, yet they still wait for these things to take place in the future. Believers too are subject to Christ, because of his firstfruitness. Moreover, wives are to subject themselves to their husbands (cf. Eph 5:22-24; Col 3:18) and show that obedience with their hairstyle. Κεφαλή could be then described as a representative of others to someone else. This representation comes with a certain authority, not a power to exploit whom he represents, but to represent them correctly and rightly, like an ambassador represents his or her country.

Therefore, while Fee claims that there is no connection in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 between κεφαλή and δόξα, it seems that Paul attaches these nouns together to communicate that the husband/wife relationship is analogous to the relationship of God to Christ and Christ to believers. Paul describes the relationship between man and woman as analogous and temporal in relation to the eternal and more permanent relationship between God and Christ and those attached to him by faith. In other terms, the equality between sexes (1 Cor 14:11-12) with the distinctions in roles in the worship setting is analogous to God and Christ and Christ and believers's relationships vis-à-vis *doxa* and *kefale* motif. Scholars have overlooked this aspect when discussing this passage simply because they have often detached this passage from the rest of the epistle.

3.3.4. Summary

To conclude, in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Paul depicts humanity as the derivative *doxa* of God based on creation's narrative characters. Moreover, I showed how Paul's narrative understanding of *doxa* relates to different characters with whom *doxa* is associated in various ways. First (1), Paul unequivocally depicts humanity (particularly male) as the image and *doxa* of God.³⁷⁵ Second (2), the creation-order plays a pivotal part in Paul's argumentation to portray the relationship of male and female in terms of the image and *doxa* of God. Paul seems to refer to Jewish texts, including the creation narrative found in Genesis 1-3 (See also Ps 8, Is 43:7; Prov 11:16; 1 Esdra 4:17). For Paul, the creation order of male and female functions as a reflection of the derived *doxa* of God. Third (3), Paul then applies his understanding of *doxa* in relation to gender differences to be portrayed in the contemporary Greco-Roman socio-cultural church setting. In other words, Paul builds a case for a parallelism between his appeal to the contemporary understanding of masculinity and the principle of the creation order. In this way Paul appeals to his contemporary audience to identify with the *doxa* characters in the narrative, namely humanity as male and female, in their respective roles based on the creation distinctives. For a male to cover his head would confuse the gender roles and thus dishonor man's head, that is Christ. On the other hand, for a woman, long hair was appropriate because it communicated her femininity and thus distinguished her created gender. To avoid a potential sexual message that long hair could have sent, women's hair was to be covered. While situational differences are apparent, Paul's *doxa* motif in relation to creation resembles the logic of Romans 1. Fourth (4), the social-cultural situation does not, however, undergird Paul's argumentation. Paul utilizes the *doxa* motif narrative of the created order inherited from the creation story as an analogy of the relationship between God and the second Adam, namely Christ and those whom he represents. For Paul, the relationship between God and Christ determines the relationship between man/husband and woman/wife. Likewise, the relationship between man and woman is not ultimate, but only a signifier to Christ and his people. Paul's use of *doxa* in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 then reveals *doxa* as merely God's derivative representation (i.e. image). Proper representation of God's derivative *doxa*, therefore, plays an important role in the worship setting.

³⁷⁵ See also Meyer, "Anthropogony and Theology in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul," 128-141. Meyer concludes "that there are good grounds to hear the language of the termination of 'male and female' in terms of a reference to Gen 1:27 and creation in the image of God, and we tentatively suggest that it signals the transcendence of the earthly-mortal determination of the image through participation in the heavenly reality made available in Christ."

3.4. The *Doxa* of the First Adam in 1 Corinthians 15:35-49

1 Corinthians 15:35-49 confirms the understanding of *doxa* as the image of God in Pauline thought, yet it adds a nuance to this concept.³⁷⁶ The term *doxa* is used six times (1 Cor 15:40, 41 [x4], 43). After providing the context of the passage, I will explore the use of *doxa* by paying special attention to Paul's understanding of the *doxa* of the first Adam. While this passage is a pivotal text to provide an understanding of Paul's eschatology, I will, however, focus on the eschatological predictions regarding *doxa* in the following chapter. Here I examine how Paul saw the pre-fallen Adam as glorious in his physical body and as a pre-figure for a more glorious eternal resurrection body.³⁷⁷

3.4.1. Context

1 Corinthians 15 is part of Paul's discussion on the importance of Jesus's physical and historical resurrection. Apparently, some people in the congregation were questioning the significance of it since "some" (1 Cor 15:12) denied the resurrection of the dead. Paul addresses the necessity of Christ's resurrection and the inevitability of the future resurrection of believers. The primary question that Paul is answering in 1 Corinthians 15:35-49 is how will dead believers be raised? What is the resurrection body like?³⁷⁸

Scholars have asked with whom Paul is in opposition here and from where does he draw his conclusions. Is Paul addressing those who think that the resurrection has already taken place (Cf. 2 Tim 2:18)?³⁷⁹ More probably, however, his opponents do not believe (or are presented by Paul as not believing)³⁸⁰ in a physical resurrection body. While Paul's adversaries have been

³⁷⁶ According to John Murray, "In 1 Corinthians 15:22, 45-49 Paul provides us with what is one of the most striking and significant rubrics in all of Scripture." John Murray, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 39.

³⁷⁷ For a modern discussion regarding the nature of the resurrection body, see a good list of related articles in Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1260-61; Murray J. Harris, *Raised Immortal* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985); John W. Cooper, *Body Soul, & Life Everlasting: Biblical Anthropology and the Monism-Dualism Debate* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989); Norman L. Geisler, *The Battle for the Resurrection* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989); Murray J. Harris, *From Grave to Glory* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990); Oscar Cullman, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?: The Witness of the New Testament* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2000); Joel B. Green, *Body, Soul, and Human Life: The Nature of Humanity in the Bible*, Studies in Theological Interpretation (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008); Gordon Fee, *God's Empowering Presence* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), 262-269; Gordon Fee, *Pauline Christology* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 514-524.

³⁷⁸ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 262.

³⁷⁹ See Thiselton, *The First Epistle to Corinthians*, 1172-1174.

³⁸⁰ A. J. M. Wedderburn, "The Problem of the Denial of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians," *NT* 23 no 3 (July 1981): 229-241.

identified with Epicurean³⁸¹ and Sadducean views, often they are associated with Gnostics,³⁸² whose over-realized eschatology could have caused some Corinthians to believe that the resurrection had already happened.³⁸³ Or are the opponents Greek philosophers who depreciate the body because of their emphasis on the immortality of the soul that would be clothed with a substance of glory?³⁸⁴

Troels Engberg-Pedersen claims that Paul has Stoic cosmology in mind when writing this passage.³⁸⁵ According to him, Paul's method of argumentation is "distinctly philosophical" and "his [Paul's] notion of the pneumatic resurrection body presupposes Stoic cosmology...and his conception of the ultimate change has its closest counterpart in the Stoic idea of *ekpyrōsis*."³⁸⁶ Moreover, Engberg-Pedersen states:

... a 'pneumatic body' is a heavenly body like the sun, moon, and stars. Underlying this construal of the resurrection body there clearly is an idea that is well known from 'apocalyptic' literature: that those who are being saved will be raised to obtain the status of – precisely – stars in heaven. But why will Paul's 'heavenly bodies' be specifically 'pneumatic'? As far as I can see, only one answer is possible: because Paul is also presupposing the specifically *Stoic* idea that the heavenly bodies that are situated at the top of the hierarchical *scala naturae* are distinctly made up of *pneuma*, as we saw in the texts from Cicero...It is distinctly Stoic idea that 'heavenly' bodies are also 'pneumatic' ones.³⁸⁷

There are, however, several problems with Engberg-Pedersen's position. He himself admits that despite distinct Stoicism in this passage, he has not been able "to find the term itself 'pneumatic' employed in Stoic sources in direct connection with the heavenly bodies."³⁸⁸ Moreover, Paul is not

³⁸¹ Some argue based on 15:32, "let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die," that Paul must be addressing the Epicurean philosophy. See, for example, M. W. L. De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung der Briefe and die Korinther*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Weidmanische Buchhandlung, 1845) and Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 156.

³⁸² The use of the term Gnosticism has been re-thought, see Michael Allen Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

³⁸³ Dunn argues, "Paul is combating the Gnostics on their ground, but on his terms." James Dunn, "1 Corinthians 15:45 – Last Adam, Life-giving Spirit," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1973), 129. See also Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm 5 12-21 (1. Kor 15)*, WMANT 7 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962); Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), 140-41, 169-70; Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 284ff.

³⁸⁴ According to Jeffrey Asher, some of the Corinthians objected to the resurrection on cosmological and metaphysical grounds. Jeffrey R. Asher, "Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1999); Jeffrey Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection*, HUT 42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

³⁸⁵ Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology & Self in the Apostle Paul*, 26-38.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 37.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 28.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 28, fn 76.

saying that the pneumatic body is “like the sun, moon, and stars.” Rather, Paul uses the heavenly objects only to point out the *principle of lesser and more gloriousness*, rather than heavenly bodies being situated above the earth. Finally, Paul believed in a physical resurrection, unlike the Stoic view, at least described by Engberg-Pedersen, where the resurrection is equated with bodies dwelling in heaven.³⁸⁹ Thus, rather than seeing Paul’s argument through Stoic lenses, it is more accurate to interpret his reasoning as being based on Jewish Scriptures.

3.4.2. The *Doxa* of the First Pre-fallen Adam

In 1 Corinthians 15:41 Paul uses *doxa* three times to express comparative brightness: “There is one glory [δόξα] of the sun, and another glory [δόξα] of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for star differs from star in glory [δόξα]” (1 Cor 11:41). Paul states how various objects differ in *doxa*, in brightness. The background for the language of glory [δόξα] related to the stars may have been drawn from Sirach 43:1-12: “The beauty of heaven, the glory [δόξα] of stars. . . . [the rainbow] draws a circle of glory [δόξα]” (Sirach 43:9, 12 LXX my translation). This usage manifests a tangible illustration of the *degree* of *doxa* from the lesser to the greater.

In making this comparison using the term *doxa*, Paul has, however, a more profound reason. He compares two different kinds of bodies, both *doxa* in their existence, yet different in their brightness. The eschatological reality of the resurrection body of the dead after the pattern of Jesus’s resurrection body is described as *doxa*. This eschatological body of *doxa* is superior compared to the first earthly body. Primarily drawing from the Jewish Scriptures,³⁹⁰ a Jewish tradition,³⁹¹ and potentially from his experience on the road to Damascus,³⁹² Paul considers,

³⁸⁹ See also N. T. Wright on this criticism. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1399. According to Asher, Paul should not be characterized by having a Stoic worldview. Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15*.

³⁹⁰ As I showed in the background chapter, the Adamic glory motif was already found in Jewish Scriptures and Second Temple Judaism.

³⁹¹ Some have pointed out the rabbinic understanding of Adam eschatology. Stephen Hultgren states, “The closest parallels to Paul from the history of religion are found in rabbinic literature. Paul knew Palestinian exegetical traditions about a first and last Adam. His encounter with the risen Christ gave concrete form to that abstract idea.” Hultgren concludes, “It was Paul’s encounter with the risen Christ, whom he came to know as life-giving Spirit and as image of God that led him to believe that Christ was both the true representation of God in the likeness of human form and the true representation of humanity in the image of God. This was fundamental for Paul. But this experience alone cannot explain Paul’s doctrine of the two Adams, because Paul derives the doctrine *exegetically* from Gen. 2.7. Palestinian exegesis provides a more likely background for Paul’s doctrine of the two Adams in Gen. 2.7 than Philo, Hellenistic Judaism or Gnosticism. His encounter with the risen Christ will have given that abstract doctrine concrete form.” Stephen Hultgren, “The Origin of Paul’s Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15.45-29,” *JSNT* 25.3 (2003): 369-370. See also W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980). See also Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 58-71.

³⁹² Paul does not describe his Damascus road experience in his letters. Seyoon Kim, however, says that Paul received his idea not merely from Philo, but from his Damascus road experience. He convincingly shows that Paul’s Damascus experience was pivotal to his Adam-Christology. Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 260-268, and Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 165-213.

however, the first pre-fallen Adamic body to be the body of *doxa* as well. Moreover, the pre-fallen Adamic body functions as God's representative and a type to the eschatological Adam-*doxa* figure.

Table 3.6. 1 Corinthians 15:39-49

The description of the first Adam	The eschatological Adam as <i>doxa</i>
A description of the earthly body (1 Cor 15:39-41)	The eschatological Adam as <i>doxa</i> (1 Cor 15:39-41)
For not all flesh is the same, but there is one kind for humans, another for animals, another for birds, and another for fish ...and earthly bodies, and the <i>glory</i> [δόξα] of the earthly [ἐπίγειος] is of another.	There are heavenly (super-earthly) ³⁹³ bodies but the <i>glory</i> [δόξα] of the heavenly [ἐπουράνιος] is of one kind.
There is one <i>glory</i> [δόξα] of the sun, and another <i>glory</i> [δόξα] of the moon, and another <i>glory</i> [δόξα] of the stars; for star differs from star in <i>glory</i> [δόξα].	
A description of the fallen Adam (1 Cor 15:42-43)	The eschatological Adam as <i>doxa</i> (1 Cor 15:42-43)
So is it with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable [φθορά] It is sown in dishonor [ἀτιμία] It is sown in weakness [ἀσθενεία]	what is raised is imperishable [ἀφθαρσία] it is raised in glory [δόξα] it is raised in power [δύναμις]
A description of the pre-fallen Adam (1 Cor 15:44-49)	The eschatological Adam as <i>doxa</i> (1 Cor 15:44-49)
It is sown a natural body [σῶμα ψυχικόν] If there is a natural body [σῶμα ψυχικόν]	it is raised a spiritual body [σῶμα πνευματικόν] there is also a spiritual body [πνευματικόν]
Thus it is written, "The first man Adam became a living being" [ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν from Gen 2:17 LXX] But it is not the spiritual [πνευματικός] that is first but the natural [ψυχικός] The first man was from the earth [γῆς], a man of dust; As was the man of dust [χοϊκός], so also are those who are of the dust, Just as we have borne the image [εἰκόν] of the man of dust,	the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. [ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν] and then the spiritual. the second man is from heaven. and as is the man of heaven, so also are those who are of heaven we shall also bear the image [εἰκόν] of the man of heaven.

First, Paul talks about the earthly body as *doxa* in verses 39-40 (and in 44b-49 without actual word *doxa*).³⁹⁴ In verse 40 Paul contrast the brightness of *doxa* between the heavenly and

³⁹³ Thiselton's translation, Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1269.

³⁹⁴ Gaffin comes to a similar conclusion, though without a detailed analysis. Gaffin, "The Glory of God in Paul's

earthly bodies, indicating that the earthly body already had *doxa*. Paul alludes again to the Genesis creation narrative. There seems to be (again) a lexical allusion, κτήνος, πτηνός, ἰχθύς, in 1 Corinthians 15:39 that parallels ἰχθύς, πετεινόν, κτήνος in Genesis 1:28 LXX. Paul's point is to highlight God as the creator and to distinguish between the flesh of humans (ἄνθρωπος) and animals. It seems, therefore, that verse 40 talks about the glorious nature of the pre-fallen Adam.

But who is Paul talking about in verse 44-49? On the one hand his language is similar to the three earlier phrases in verses 42-43 (sowing language); on the other hand, there is a linguistic link to verse 45 (ψυχικός – ψυχή). This earthly/natural body (ψυχικός) seems to be the body of pre-fall creation, which the appeal to Genesis 2:7 supports. Therefore, the natural first body is also called the body of earthly *doxa*. Thus, Paul considers the first pre-fallen body of Adam to be the body of glory, earthly, natural, living being, and of the dust as positive terms. The first body is not, however, yet what it was intended to be.

Second, describing the first Adam, Paul seems to hover between the pre-fallen and fallen profiles without clear indicators when such change happens. It is best to see verses 42-44a as a description of the fallen Adam despite Jeffrey Asher's alternative position.³⁹⁵ This body is perishable (ἐν φθορᾷ) and will result in dishonor (ἐν ἄτιμίᾳ) and weakness (ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ). Two of the prepositional phrases, ἐν φθορᾷ and ἐν ἄτιμίᾳ, unlike Asher claims, always have a negative connotation in Pauline texts.³⁹⁶ It seems that here Paul contrasts ἄτιμία and δόξα intentionally to show the categorical difference between the sinful body and the superior eschatological body.

Epistles," 135, fn.12. Gaffin does not talk about verse 39.

³⁹⁵ Jeffrey Asher claims that Paul uses an anthropogenic metaphor of sowing in 15:42-43 to refer to the creation of Adam, not the burial of the body. He states: "in four successive antitheses [1 Cor. 15:42:44a], Paul implies, by means of the two verbs σπείρεται and ἐγείρεται, that, like the original creation of humankind, the resurrection is a creative act of God and, by means of the predicates of each verb, that the resurrection body, like Adam's, qualitatively conforms to the polar distinction between the celestial and terrestrial realms as places of somatic habitation. Paul demonstrates that the resurrection, like the original creation of Adam, is a creative act of God and that it does not violate the metaphysical structures of the contrariety that exists between heaven and earth." Jeffrey Asher, "ΣΠΕΙΡΕΤΑΙ: Paul's Anthropogenic Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 15:42-44," *JBL* 120 (Spring 2001), 110.

³⁹⁶ Asher fails to see how Paul uses these terms. Φθορά occurs five times in Pauline literature (Rom 1:23; 8:21; 1 Cor 15:42, 50; Gal 6:8; cf. Col 2:22), and it has a very negative meaning. Paul uses this term to describe the mortality of man (Rom 1:23) contrasted to the identification of God as ἄφθαρτος in Romans 1:23 (cf. 1 Cor 15:50, 53, 54; Rom 2:7) in relation to God and eternity. Second, is ἄτιμία in 15:43 used in the sense of weakness/humiliation (cf. Phil 3:21 ταπεινός) or shame? The latter seems to fit the context better. Paul also uses ἄτιμία as a contrast to *doxa* elsewhere, where it seems to communicate a shameful and sinful inclination rather than weakness (e.g. Rom 1:24, 26; 1 Cor 11:14-15; 2 Cor 6:8). But because here the pre-fallen Adam is also glorious, it seems to fit best that ἄτιμία refers to shame. The use of ἀσθενεία is more diverse and could have a negative, even if not sinful connotation [Rom 6:19]. It can be used as a word describing either physical weakness [1 Cor 2:3; Gal 4:13; cf. 1 Tim 5:23] or even a virtue [2 Cor 11:30; 12:5, 9, 10; 13:4]. Asher also overlooks the use of σπείρω in Paul elsewhere, missing its connection to something sinful in Gal 4:13: "the one who sows [σπείρω] to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption (φθορά), but the one who sows [σπείρω] to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life." Thus, his arguments are not compelling enough to make the interpretation conclusive.

To summarize, in 1 Corinthians 15:39-50 Paul uses *doxa* in two ways. First, *doxa* is used to describe brightness as an illustration of *the degrees of doxa found between the first and second Adam*. Second, Paul describes both the pre-fallen Adam and the eschatological resurrected Second Adam (Christ) as *doxa*. Paul considered the first Adamic *physical* body to be the body of *doxa* functioning as God's representative and a type for the eschatological greater Adam-glory figure. Paul does not deny the goodness and the continuity of the created and physical body of the pre-fallen Adam, but he presents it as a prototype of the greater Second Adam. Moreover, the fallen Adam is without this honor and glory (ἀτιμία) and thus Paul affirms the discontinuity of the perishable, dishonoring and weak sinful body of sin. Third, the superiority of the eschatological body of glory compared to both the pre-fallen image and glory of Adam and to the fallen Adam will be explored more thoroughly in chapter 4.

3.5. Summary

In this chapter I explored three relevant Pauline passages (Rom 1-3; 1 Cor 11:2-16; 1 Cor 15:39-49) in light of God's derived *doxa*. The study revealed the following six points:

1. Paul describes God's intrinsic character as *doxa*. His definition is patterned after his understanding of the Jewish Scriptures, where God's *doxa* was defined as His aesthetic, moral, and transcendent holiness displayed in His presence that was revealed in a dwelling place, namely in Sinai, the tabernacle, and the temple. Paul redefines God's *doxa*, especially in Romans 1, as God's ontological, essential and intrinsic character of weightiness highlighted in His divine presence, truth, immortality, judgment, and sovereign grace.
2. According to Paul, as found in the three aforementioned passages, God's intrinsic *doxa* is displayed *derivatively* in His image, in humanity. Adam, who represents the entirety of humanity, in his pre-fallen body is the *doxa* and image of God. Again, Paul did not originate the idea of humanity as God's derived *doxa*; rather, he reshaped it after the pattern found in Jewish Scriptures and developed in later Jewish writings, where God's derivative *doxa* is represented in Adam, royal kings, and the covenant community. For Paul, humanity functions as God's representative and reflection of His *doxa*; consequently, all humanity is created to glorify God, to give thanks to God, and to seek God's glory. Additionally, even though the first Adam is described as the derived glory of God, he also functions as a pre-figure of the second and greater Adam-glory.
3. The gender differences, including yet not limited to sexual orientation, after the pattern of the creation narratives, play an important role in defining the derivative *doxa* of humanity in the Romans 1-3 and 1 Corinthians 11 passages. Humankind was created in relation to each other, especially in relation to two distinguishable genders representing the nature and the relationship of God's intrinsic and derivative *doxa*. Paul highlights the principle of the relationship in the distinct roles after the creative order. My study shows that Paul considers the relationship between male and female as conveyed by the

creation story to be a concrete display, including posture and clothing, that functions as a typology for the relationship between God and humankind as an image of Him and of His *doxa*. Because a man is the *doxa* of God, his main responsibility is to honor and represent God. Because a female is the *doxa* of the male, her main responsibility is to honor and represent her husband for the ultimate purpose of representing God. Moreover, the second Adam, Christ, now represents both, God before humanity and humanity (male and female) before God, and thus functions as a head to them. This understanding gives a foundation for the general definition of anthropology described in Romans 1 and the practical problem in the corporate worship setting that needs to be corrected in the Corinthian church.

4. Paul not only refers to the creation narratives, he also alludes to Israel's creation story found in Exodus 32-34 in Romans 1 to demonstrate congruently with Jewish Scriptures that Israel's task was to portray God's *doxa* by worshipping Him. Subsequently, Paul intentionally depicts the Genesis creation story and Israel's creation story as parallel with each other.
5. Idolatry, a posture in which all humanity is lacking God's *doxa*, is the foundation of sin according to Paul. Two stories from the Jewish Scriptures, the Genesis creation-fall story and Israel's creation-idolatry story found in Exodus 32-34, function as typologies and foundations for the depravity of the entire human race, Jews and Gentiles alike. Paul invokes his audience to identify with the fallen Adam and Israel, evidencing that humanity's created purpose, the shared, manifested, and represented *doxa* of God is lacking because of misplaced identity and improper worship. This created function for humankind is three-fold. Humankind was created to glorify God by giving thanks to Him and worshipping Him. Humankind was also made to oversee the rest of the creation, especially the created animals. Additionally, humankind was created in relation to each other, especially in relation to two distinguishable genders. According to Paul, sin is manifested in all three of these arenas of human function, starting with the exchange of worship of the Creator for worship of that which was created, and then resulting in all kinds of relational sins with each other, including, but not limited to, homosexuality. The classification of sin, therefore, is first in relation to God. It starts with idolatry and flows into all the other relationships, both between humankind and creation and humankind with one other.
6. Drawing from two distinctive stories, namely the Adam and Israel narratives, Paul intentionally provokes his Jewish and Gentile audience to identify with them respectively. They are part of the story; they are identified with the fallen Adam and/or Israel. Their common identity is found in their idolatry, their lack of God's derivative *doxa* in their lives.

This chapter has shown how Paul identifies Adam and Israel as God's *doxa* representatives. The first Adam, after the fall, lacks God's glory as we saw in our study in Romans 1-3 and 1 Corinthians 15:39-49. Because idolatry is also manifested in the midst of Paul's contemporary audience, they do not portray God's *doxa* appropriately. For this reason, Paul argues, there is a need to vindicate

God's *doxa* through another representative. It is to this character and representative—the one which we have already seen a preview of in this chapter—that I turn to next in my study.

4. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL VINDICATION OF THE *DOXA* OF GOD THROUGH THE *DOXA* OF CHRIST

“The time is ripe,” said Glenstorm. “I watch the skies, Badger, for it is mine to watch, as it is yours to remember. Tarva and Alambil have met in the halls of high heaven, and on earth a son of Adam has once more arisen to rule and name the creatures.”³⁹⁷

- Glenstorm in *Prince Caspian*

“God . . . has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”³⁹⁸
- Apostle Paul

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed that according to Paul, Adam (i.e. humanity) and Israel were created to display and represent God’s glory, namely, his own character and identity. The first Adam and Israel represented the *doxa* of God derivatively as His image and His *doxa*. Furthermore, Paul appealed to the male/female relationship of the creation narrative to demonstrate how they function analogously as God/Christ and Christ/church in relation to *doxa*. Moreover, Paul defined the sinfulness of humanity as the lack of God’s original *doxa*, demonstrated in both Adam’s and Israel’s lives. Paul intentionally used the *doxa* narrative structure to appeal to his audience and to make them identify themselves with the created and fallen Adam and Israel.

Adam, Israel, and Paul’s contemporary audience’s failure to represent God as His image and glory demands another representative and character. In this chapter, I will examine seven passages in light of the *doxa* motif (1 Cor 2:6-8; 1 Cor 15:39-49; 2 Cor 1-4; Rom 5-8; Romans 9; Rom 15:6-13; Phil 2-3) by pointing out how God’s *glory* will be vindicated through Christ’s character. Additionally, the relationship between Christ’s glory and believers’ glorification will be investigated.

4.2. The Lord of *Doxa* in 1 Corinthians 2:6-8

Paul uses *doxa* twice in 1 Corinthians 2:7-8. In verse 8 Paul gives Christ the title the Lord of glory (ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης).³⁹⁹ In verse 7 he considers himself and his supporters to participate in glory as well (εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν) (See Table 4.2.). The purpose of this section is to explain the meaning of both of these *doxa* usages in relation to Paul’s opponents, to Christ, and to believers.

³⁹⁷ C. S. Lewis, *Prince Caspian* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1951).

³⁹⁸ 2 Cor 4:6.

³⁹⁹ Newman calls this passage one of Paul’s “words-on-target,” where the manifestation of God’s revelation of Christ is most clearly revealed. See Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 229-240.

1 Corinthians 2:6-8 is part of a larger context where Paul appeals to the Corinthian church for unity in light of the nature of the cross (Table 4.1.). Walker has questioned the Pauline origin of 1 Corinthians 2:6-16 due to the cumulative weight of contextual, linguistic, and ideational reasons.⁴⁰⁰ There are, however, no historical or text-critical warrants to support the claim. Moreover, the contextual (e.g. a change from singular to plural) and linguistic arguments (peculiarities in vocabulary) for the interpolations are dubious. Therefore, it seems better not to see this text as an interpolation.⁴⁰¹ Rather, Paul wrote (or an earlier piece of tradition passed on to Paul)⁴⁰² to redefine wisdom for his opponents in light of Jesus's death and resurrection.⁴⁰³ Additionally, the highlighted *doxa* motif in 1 Corinthians 2:7-8 is a major theme for Paul making this text hardly an interpolation.

Table 4.1. The Context of 1 Corinthians 2:7-8

Passage	Theme
1:1-3	Greetings
1:4-9	Thanksgiving
1:10-4:21	Appeal for unity in light of the nature of the cross
1:10-17	Foolishness of groupings in light of the crucified Christ
1:18-25	Human wisdom vs. wisdom in light of the cross
2:1-5	Paul's own testimony of preaching among the Corinthians
2:6-3:4	<i>The redefinition of true wisdom and spirituality</i>
3:5-21	The application of true wisdom and spirituality to Paul's ministry

Yet among the mature we do impart wisdom, although it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to pass away. But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages *for our glory* [εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν]. None of the rulers of this age understood this, for if they had, they would not *have crucified the Lord of glory* [τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης] (1 Cor 2:6-8).

In this passage, typical of Paul's rhetoric, he polemically contrasts his opponents with himself and his supporters (see Table 4.2).⁴⁰⁴ This time he employs the *doxa* motif to do so. "They"

⁴⁰⁰ Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters*, 127-146. Walker's arguments are built on Martin Widman's article: Martin Widmann, "1 Kor. 2:6-16: Ein Einspruch gegen Paulus," *ZNW* 70 (1979): 44-53; William O. Walker, "1 Cor. 2:6-16: A Non-Pauline Interpolation?" *JSNT* 47 (1992): 75-94; Hans Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Hermeniaia, trans. James W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 57. Indeed, they consider the phrase ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης as a title for Christ to be one of the peculiarities in the passage, and consequently offer it as a piece of evidence for a non-Pauline origin.

⁴⁰¹ Weighing Widmann's arguments, Murphy-O'Connor does not find them convincing. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 81-94.

⁴⁰² See Earl Ellis, "Traditions in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 32 (1986): 481-502.

⁴⁰³ Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 224, 239-240.

⁴⁰⁴ The identity of the opponents is beyond the scope of this study. It is possible that they are putting pressure on Gentile Christians, who have left the imperial cult worship and embraced Christ as the glory of God. See Bruce W.

are (1) wise in worldly standards, powerful, and from prestigious family backgrounds (1:26); (2) the rulers of this age (2:6); (3) the ones who crucified the Lord of *doxa* (2:8); (4) the ones who have received the spirit of this world (2:12); (5) a natural person (2:14); and (6) are spiritually undiscerning (2:14).⁴⁰⁵ In contrast to these opponents, Paul calls himself and his companies “us” who preach Christ crucified (1:23) and are not wise, not powerful. Paradoxically, the false wisdom of “them” fulfills the wisdom of God in the mystery unfolding in Christ for “us.”⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, the destinies of “them” and “us” have two very different outcomes. “They” are destined to pass away, while “we” are decreed before the ages for our glory (εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν).

What does the prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν mean? Commentators understand it in various ways, for example: “With a view to our glory...our new being supernatural” (Conzelmann), “God destined his people for glory (not shame)” (Fee), “The glory of believers is an essential part of God’s decree” (Grosheide), “The δόξα of believers is a part of the glory of the Lord” (Bengel and Mayer).⁴⁰⁷ While Newman translates this prepositional phrase as “for his benefit,”⁴⁰⁸ it is better to emphasize the fulfilled eschatological anticipated prophetic (προόρισεν) transformation of those who love God (v. 2:9; i.e. Paul and his supporters) to the likeness of Christ’s *doxa*, which indeed is beneficial for them as well. The fact that Paul uses the first person plural personal pronoun ἡμῶν emphasizes the reality of their own, unlike his opponents, eschatological standing and inclusion. They are not merely beneficiaries; they are partakers of Christ’s *doxa*.

Winter, “The Enigma of Imperial Cultic Activities and Paul in Corinth,” in *Greco-Roman Culture and the New Testament: Studies Commemorating the Centennial of the Pontifical Biblical Institute*, ed. David E. Aune and Frederick E. Brenk (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 49-72.

⁴⁰⁵ A similar kind of list can be found in Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 41.

⁴⁰⁶ Fee says, “The very ones who were trying to do away with Jesus by crucifying him were in fact carrying out God’s prior will.” Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 106. See also Peter Stuhlmacher, “The Hermeneutical Significance of 1 Cor. 2:6-16,” in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for his 60th Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 328-347.

⁴⁰⁷ I am indebted to Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 244, for these references. Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 62; Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 10; F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to Corinthians*, NICNT and New London Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 64; H. A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Corinthians*, eng. transl., 2 vols (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1892), 1:63. Cf. Baumert states: “Aber wie die Herrscher dieses Weltbereichs die Weisheit Gottes in Christus nicht erkannten, so erkennen die Menschen dieses Äon auch seine Herrlichkeit in uns nicht. Denn wir reden von etwas, das ein Mensch mit seinem natürlichen Auge nicht sehen, mit seinem Ohr nicht hören kann und was nicht aus seinem eigenen Herzen aufsteigen, sondern was nur Gott enthüllen kann.” Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers*, 35.

⁴⁰⁸ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 159-160.

Table 4.2. The Comparison of “we” and “they” in 1 Corinthians 1

“we”	“they”
the ones who are being saved (1:18)	the ones who are perishing (1:18)
not wise, not powerful, not of noble birth foolish	wise in worldly standards, powerful and from prestigious family backgrounds (1:26)
low and despised in the world (1:28)	strong (1:27)
called (1:24, 26)	
mature (2:6)	the rulers of this age (2:6)
preach Christ crucified (1:23);	the ones who crucified the <i>Lord of glory</i> (2:8)
spirit from God (2:12)	the spirit of this world (2:12)
y the Spirit (2:13)	having human wisdom (2:13)
spirituwisdom bal person (2:15)	a natural person (2:14)
the mind of Christ (2:16)	and spiritually undiscerning (2:14)

For Paul, the present transformation was planned previously: “God *decreed before the ages* for our glory.” This *telos* has been decreed before the ages (προώρισεν), connecting a pre-creational intention to the eschatological purpose. *Doxa* is also used in relation to another revelatory term, μυστήριον.⁴⁰⁹ Μυστήριον is an important Pauline motif⁴¹⁰ pointing to the salvation history of unfolding God’s plan to include all the nations (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) in his salvation as well. This understanding become more developed in Ephesians and Colossians (Eph 1:9; 3:3f, 9; 5:32; 6:19; Col 1:26, 2:2; 4:3) but is already present here (1 Cor 2:1, 7) and in Romans (11:25; 16:25). I will later show even more clearly the inclusion of all the nations as one of the major motifs regarding Paul’s understanding of *doxa*. But even here one of the central themes in Pauline thought is present. The ones called to Christ’s eschatological *doxa* are both Jews and Greek (1 Cor 1:24), and this according to Paul had already been anticipated in the Jewish Scriptures. Additionally, the object of Paul’s preaching is the crucified Christ (1:23), the mystery (μυστήριον) of God (2:1),⁴¹¹ the Lord of δόξα (2:8). The manner in which this salvation happens is unexpected, namely, through the demonstration of the weakness of God manifested in Christ, now to be proclaimed unashamedly.

In this same passage, Paul also calls Christ the Lord of δόξα. This is an unequivocal reference that associates Christ with the Lord of the Jewish Scriptures. Even though the phrase “the Lord of *doxa*” occurs only once elsewhere⁴¹² in the New Testament, I Enoch, one of the oldest

⁴⁰⁹ See Greg B. Beale and Benjamin L. Gladd, *Hidden but Now Revealed: A Biblical Theology of Mystery* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2014).

⁴¹⁰ Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1, 7; 4:1; 13:2; 14:2; 15:51; cf. Eph 1:9; 3:3f, 9; 5:32; 6:19; Col 1:26f; 2:2; 4:3; 2 Thess 2:7; 1 Tim 3:9, 16. See Mikko Sivonen, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Meaning of μυστήριον in Ephesians” (ThM thes., Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005).

⁴¹¹ Interestingly, many English translations have “Testimony of God” (e.g. ESV, KJV, NIV).

⁴¹² Jas 2:1 (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης). See Kari Syreeni, “James and the Pauline Legacy: Power Play in Corinth,” in *Fair Paul: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen*, Novum

pseudepigraphical books, uses the same phrase several times (1 En. 22:14; 25:7; 27:3, 5; 36:4 [x2]; 40:3; 63:2; 75:3; 81:3; 83:8).⁴¹³ Because the references unmistakably refer to the character of God, often linked to the Lord of righteousness (1 En. 22:14; 90:40), eternal King (1 En. 25:7; 27:3) and the Lord of justice (1 En. 83:11), Paul may have been influenced here by contemporary Jewish apocalyptic literature.⁴¹⁴

Furthermore, a neglected scholarly point becomes apparent when comparing the definition of *doxa* in relation to the cross to typical first-century thought, Jewish and Greco-Roman alike. Table 4.3. reveals the content of the Lord of *doxa* as described in 1 Corinthians 1-2.

Table 4.3. Descriptions of the Lord of *Doxa*

Descriptions of the Lord of <i>Doxa</i> in 1 Corinthians 1:18-2:10
<i>Christ crucified</i> (1:23)
<i>A stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles</i> (1:23)
<i>Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God</i> (1:24)
<i>The foolishness of God</i> (1:25)
<i>The weakness of God</i> (1 Cor 1:25)
God chose what is <i>foolish in the world</i> to shame the wise; God chose what is <i>weak in the world</i> to shame the strong (1:27)
God chose what is <i>low and despised in the world</i> , even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are (1:28)
Because of him you are <i>in Christ Jesus, who became to us wisdom from God, righteousness and sanctification and redemption</i> (1:30)
<i>The mystery</i> (μυστήριον) <i>of God</i> (2:1)
<i>A mystery and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glory</i> (2:7)
These things God <i>has revealed to us through the Spirit</i> (2:10)

Doxa is used paradoxically here. While *doxa* relates to God as power, strength, and testimony in the Jewish Scriptures and other Second Temple literature, here it is associated with terms such as the foolishness and weakness of God,⁴¹⁵ something that is low and despised in the world.

Paul's understanding of the very nature and revelation of God in Christ reshapes the Jewish thought of glory as God's revelatory sign to them. The signs (σημεῖα) in the Jewish Scriptures were often related to God's revelatory events, such as making covenants (e.g. Gen 9:12, 13, 17; 17:11),

Testamentum Supplements 103, ed. Ismo Dunderberg, Christopher Tuckett & Kari Syreeni. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 418-419; See also Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 236; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 246-247.

⁴¹³ Cf. God of glory in 1 Enoch 25:3.

⁴¹⁴ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 236-237.

⁴¹⁵ A similar kind of paradox can be found in 2 Corinthians 10-13. See Lars Aejmelaesus, *Heikkoudessa täydellistyvävoima. Tutkimus Paavalin Kyynelkirjeestä* (2. Kor. 10-13), Suomen eksegeettisen seuran julkaisuja (SESJ) 32 (Helsinki, 1979); Cf. Lars Aejmelaesus, *Schwachheit als Waffe: die Argumentation des Paulus im Tränenbrief (2. Kor. 10-13)*, Schriften der Finnischen exegetischen Gesellschaft (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2000).

revealing His name to Moses (Exod 3:14), redeeming the Israelites from the hands of their enemies (e.g. Exod 7:3; 8:19), providing for their needs (e.g. Num 14:11), and warning them not to rebel against Him.⁴¹⁶ There are also several occurrences when sign (σημεῖον) and *doxa* are linked together. The clearest indication of associating sign (σημεῖον) to the revelatory *doxa* comes in Numbers 14:22: “all the men who saw *my glory and the signs* (τὴν δόξαν μου καὶ τὰ σημεῖα) that I made in Egypt” (Num 14:22 LXX my translation). The signs were the Lord’s powerful revelatory manifestations of the *doxa* of redemption and delivery from the slavery of Egypt as well as his manifested presence in the tabernacle. These terms, sign (σημεῖον) and *doxa*, function almost synonymously here. Moreover, a passage from Isaiah connects sign and *doxa* in an unmistakable manner:

I understand their works and their reasonings; I am coming to gather all nations [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] and tongues, and they shall come and *shall see my glory* [ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν μου]. And I will leave *signs* [σημεῖα] upon them, and from them I will send forth those who are saved to the nations, to Tharsis and Phoud and Loud and Mosoch and Thobel and to Greece, and to the islands far away – those who have not heard my name, *nor seen my glory* [τὴν δόξαν μου]; and *they shall declare my glory among the nations* [ἀναγγελοῦσίν μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]. (Is 66:18-19 LXX NETS)

This eschatological promise connects sign (σημεῖον) and *doxa*. Here the sign is for the nations, who have not seen God’s glory, to behold it in the eschatological future.⁴¹⁷ Yet another example from Ezekiel describes the Lord as the *doxa* of the God of Israel. He gives a sign (σημεῖον) as a protection to those who groan because of the injustices that Jerusalem had committed against the Lord. The sign on their head shields them from being killed by God.

The glory of the God of Israel [δόξα θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ] ascended from the cheroubin. It was upon them up to the atrium of the house. And he summoned the man who wore the full-length robe who had the belt upon his loins. And he said to him, “Pass through the middle of Jerusalem, and give the *mark* [τὸ σημεῖον] upon the foreheads of the men who sigh and have been afflicted over all the lawless acts that happen in their midst (Ezek 9:3-4 LXX NETS).

These examples from my background study show that in Jewish tradition both *doxa* and sign were associated with God’s revelatory presence that manifests his superiority over other gods. This manifestation was often for the sons of Abraham, but it was also revealed to expose their idolatry.

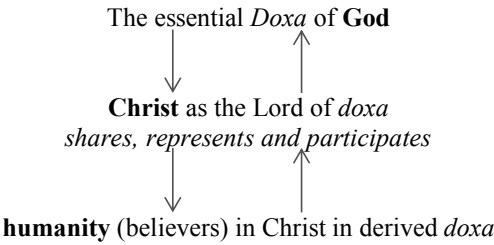
⁴¹⁶ σημεῖον occurs exactly one hundred times in the LXX (Gen 1:14; 4:15; 9:12f, 17; 17:11; Exod 3:12; 4:8f, 17, 28, 30; 7:3, 9; 8:19; 10:1f; 11:9f; 12:13; 13:9, 16; 31:13, 17; Num 14:11, 22; 17:3, 25; 21:8f; 26:10; Deut 4:34; 6:8, 22; 7:19; 11:3, 18; 13:2f; 26:8; 28:46; 29:2; 34:11; Jos 2:18; 4:6; Jdg 20:38; 1 Sam 2:34; 10:1, 7, 9; 14:10; 2 Kgs 19:29; 20:8f; 2 Chr 32:24; Neh 9:10; Est 4:17; 10:3; Ps 64:9; 73:4, 9; 77:43; 85:17; 104:27; 134:9; Job 21:29; Is 7:11, 14; 8:18; 11:12; 13:2; 18:3; 19:20; 20:3; 33:23; 37:30; 38:7, 22; 44:25; 55:13; 66:19; Jer 6:1; 10:2; 28:12, 27; 31:9; 39:20f; 51:29; Ezek 4:3; 9:4, 6; 20:12, 20; 39:15; Dan 4:37; 5:9).

⁴¹⁷ See also Ezekiel 9:3-4 and Sirach 36:15 and 45:3 for examples of sign and glory used together.

Be this as it may, the strength of God is underscored. Neither Hebrew Scriptures nor later Jewish texts talk about *doxa* in terms of weakness, lowliness, or being despised. Thus, the crucified *doxa* is a contradiction in terms.

Another neglected oversight is Paul’s intentional combination of *doxa* and κύριος in order to make an emphatic point. The phrase should not be translated adjectivally as “glorious Lord” but rather as “the Lord to whom glory belongs” (genitive of quality).⁴¹⁸ Since *doxa* has the connotation of the Lord’s intrinsic character and refers also to his derived human Adamic figure, Paul wants to combine these meanings. Elsewhere, Paul emphasizes Jesus’s obedient nature as a prerequisite for him dying to atone for sinners (e.g. Rom 5:19; Phil 2:8-9). Therefore, Jesus functions as a perfect Adamic representative for humanity. This representation, in his obedience and in his death, is described here as *doxa*. More profoundly, κύριος is a common Pauline term referring to the resurrected Jesus as his equal status with the Lord of the Hebrew Scriptures (e.g. Phil 2:5-11).⁴¹⁹

Table 4.4. Christ Represents the Intrinsic and Derived *Doxa* of God



To conclude, Paul uses *doxa* twice in 1 Corinthians 2:7-8 and has three nuanced associations. First, *doxa* is contrasted with Paul’s opponents. While Paul’s opponents are described as the ones who crucified the Lord of glory, Paul and the believers become partakers of Christ’s glory. Second, Paul depicts Christ as the Lord of glory. Paul uses *doxa* in a paradoxical way in light of the way it was understood by Jewish tradition. While Jewish Scriptures depict the presence of *doxa* as a sign of God’s manifested power, in this passage *doxa* together with κύριος is used, shockingly, to communicate a manifestation of the weakness of God. Moreover, Christ’s obedience to death and his resurrection becomes the content of the meaning of the Lord of *doxa*, which identifies Christ with equal status with Yahweh. Third, for Paul, the anticipated transformation in the Lord’s *doxa* occurs through and in Christ. The wisdom of God found in Christ’s cross, namely

⁴¹⁸ Thiselton, *The First Epistle to Corinthians*, 247; cf. Baumert, *Sorgen des Seelsorgers*, 35.
⁴¹⁹ Rom 4:24; 10:9; 13:14; 15:11; 1 Cor 2:8; 6:14; 9:1; 10:22; 16:22; 2 Cor 3:16; 4:5, 14; 5:8; 11:17; 12:8; Phil 1:15; 3:20; 1 Thess 2:15; 5:27; cf. Eph 6:24; Col 2:6; 3:22; 4:1; 2 Tim 2:22.

in *doxa*, is also for believers' righteousness, sanctification, and redemption (1 Cor 1:31). Thus the anticipated participation promised in the Jewish Scriptures is fulfilled in God's derived *doxa in Christ* for Paul and the called ones (Jews and Gentiles alike). The eschatology is being inaugurated as the called ones identify with Christ in his weakness, suffering, crucifixion and resurrection. The rhetorical language against his opponents' wisdom appeals to the eschatological realities that are already found in the weakness of Christ. Believers are to identify themselves with the suffering Lord of *doxa*.

4.3. The Eschatological Superior *Doxa* of Second Adam and Believers in 1 Corinthians 15:35-49

In the previous chapter (3.4.) we saw how Paul uses *doxa* in 1 Corinthians 15:35-49 in two ways: first, *doxa* denotes "brightness" in the comparative sense; second, the first Adam is described to be clothed with the body of *doxa*. Building on this, here I discuss the *superiority* of the eschatological body of *doxa* of the Second Adam and the believers, compared to both the pre-fallen image and glory of Adam and to the fallen Adam.

The final Adam figure, after the first pre-fallen Adam and after the fallen Adam, is the Second Adam. Paul depicts the resurrected Christ as the superior eschatological Adamic *doxa* figure. Paul gives ten descriptions of the eschatological Adam figure, who has *the glory from heavens* (ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα; 1 Cor 15:40). This eschatological Adamic *doxa* figure is the physically resurrected Christ, who also functions as the firstfruit of believers (1 Cor 2:11-15; 3:1-3; 15:21-28; 38-44). The eschatological body is described as something to be raised as imperishable (ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ; 1 Cor 15:42), in glory (ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ; 1 Cor 15:43), in power (ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει; 1 Cor 15:44), and as a spiritual body (ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν; 1 Cor 15:44). These terms thus function as descriptions of the *doxa* of Christ.

Moreover, 1 Corinthians 15:45-49 provides four more descriptions of Christ. Christ is the life-giving Spirit, referring to God's Spirit⁴²⁰ (ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν; 1 Cor 15:45), a spiritual being (πνευματικόν; 1 Cor 15:46), the second man from heaven (or the second man, the one from heaven; δεῦτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; 1 Cor 15:47), and the image from the heavens

⁴²⁰ For a discussion regarding whether this refers to the divine Spirit or to another spirit, see J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), 325 and J. D. G. Dunn, "Rediscovering the Spirit (2)," *ExpTim* 94 (1982): 9-18. Gordon Fee has demonstrated that the presence or the absence of the article is not the determining factor in this discussion. Gordon Fee, "Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11 and Elsewhere: Some Reflections on Paul as a Trinitarian," in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ*, ed. J. B. Green and M. Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 320-323. See also Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*.

(τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου; 1 Cor 15:49). These terms give a description of what Paul means by Christ's *doxa*.⁴²¹ First, Paul twice asserts that the *doxa* is from heaven (1 Cor 15:40, 49) and is the image from heaven (1 Cor 15:49). Second, the *doxa* of Christ is the last Adam and the second man (1 Cor 15:45, 47). Third, he is a spiritual body (1 Cor 15:44, 46) and a life-giving Spirit (1 Cor 15:45). Furthermore, Christ's Adam-glory is not merely an identical reflection of the first Adam's glory, rather it is a qualitatively and substantially *superior* body compared to it. Finally, Paul seems to identify Christ with both the intrinsic *doxa* of God (who comes from heaven) and the derivative *doxa* of God's image in the likeness of the first pre-fallen Adam.

Analogies can be seen in Paul's treatment of the creation story. Benjamin Gladd considers Paul's typological use of Genesis 2:7 regarding Christ as the second Adam to be an analogy of Adam and Seth. As Sandelin before him, Gladd maintains, quite compellingly, that "Adam was created in God's image (1:27-28), and he passed that divine image on to his son, Seth (Gen 5:3)."⁴²² Paul also alludes to Genesis 5:3 in 1 Corinthians 15:49, so Adam's passing his image to Seth functions as a type of how Christ is passing on his image to believers.

Scholars have seen a variable degree of similarity between Paul and his contemporary, Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE-50CE), in light of the treatment of Genesis 1:27 and 2:7 and the two-Adam model. Sandelin contends (correctly, as I argue throughout this study) that Paul draws from the Jewish rather than Gnostic background in 1 Corinthians.⁴²³ According to Sandelin, Paul specifically pulls from the same wisdom tradition as Philo.⁴²⁴ Gerhard Sellin and Sandelin have noted, however, that Philo does not use a Pauline ἀτιμία - δόξα contrast in his writings.⁴²⁵ Moreover, Sellin finds Philo's understanding of δόξα as the philosophical terms "opinion" and "honor" rather than the Pauline terms argued in this dissertation.⁴²⁶ Furthermore, according to

⁴²¹ This does not mean that the terms should be taken synonymously. Rather, the image (εἰκών) from heaven, the last Adam, the spiritual body, and the life-giving Spirit describe the δόξα of Christ.

⁴²² Benjamin Gladd, "The Last Adam as the 'Life-giving Spirit' Revisited: A Possible Old Testament Background of One of Paul's Most Perplexing Phrases," *WTJ* 71 (2009), 307. See also Sandelin, who states: "Nach Gen. 5,3 der LXX-Fassung ist Adam Vorbild für Seth." Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 115.

⁴²³ Karl-Gustav Sandelin, "Gnosis i 1 Kor. 15. Kritisk analys av en forskningstradition" Licentiatavhandling, Otryckt (Åbo: Akademi, 1973); Karl-Gustav Sandelin, "Spiritus Vivificans," in *Opuscula exegetica Aboensia in honorem Rafael Gyllenberg*, ed. Gösta Lindeskog (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1973), 59-75; Karl-Gustav Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*. Meddelanden från Stiftelsens för Åbo Akademi forskningsinstitut, 12 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1976), 44-47; Sandelin, *Sophia och hennes värld: exegetiska uppsatser från fyra årtionden*, 28-29.

⁴²⁴ Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 26-48, 123-127.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 123; Gerhard Sellin, *Der Streit um die Auferstehung der Toten: eine religionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Untersuchung von 1 Korinther 15*, FRLANT 138 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 221-222.

⁴²⁶ Sellin, *Der Streit um die Auferstehung der Toten*, 222.

Hultgren, a “study of Philo... makes it unlikely that Paul is reacting either to Philo, to Alexandrian traditions, or even to a misrepresentation of Philo.”⁴²⁷

As Sandelin and Sellin⁴²⁸ had earlier noted, there are, however, some noticeable similarities between Philo and Paul. They argue that Paul is following Philonic tradition when comparing the first and Second Adam. Jonathan Worthington in his recent excellent comparison shows how Philo has both a positive and a negative view of the corporeal man, Adam, in reference to Genesis 1:27 and 2:7. On the one hand, “When viewing Gen. 2:7 *in itself*, Philo interprets both humans positively. When reading 2:7 in comparison with *an outside source*, in Philo’s case Gen. 1:27 and human therein, he reads 2:7 negatively. . . . Paul shows the similar trend.”⁴²⁹ Indeed, Paul’s argument is similar to that of Philo: the description of Adam as God’s image and *doxa* referred to in Genesis 1:27 and 2:7 is positive, yet when compared to the eschatological Adam, the original Adam, even before the fall, the portrayal is less ideal.

There is, however, a significant difference between Philo and Paul. Philo considered humanity in Genesis 1:27 (resembling the *Before* reading of creation in Genesis 1:1-5) to be *invisible*, *bodyless*, *incorporeal*, and *noetic*.⁴³⁰ But the humanity of 2:7 is physical and bodily and *therefore* mortal and inferior to the humanity in Genesis 1:27. For Paul, however, as we will see, physicality *itself* is not the problem. Rather, the first Adam is not yet complete in his humanity.

Paul hardly considers the resurrected body of the Second Adam to be without physical form. Indeed, the entire section of 1 Corinthians 15 argues for the *physical* resurrection of Christ as the

⁴²⁷ Hultgren summarizes: “The Origin of Paul’s Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Cor. 15.45-49 has been the subject of much discussion. The most commonly argued background is Philo or Alexandrian traditions. Study of Philo, however, makes it unlikely that Paul is reacting either to Philo, to Alexandrian traditions, or even to a misrepresentation of Philo.” Hultgren, “The Origin of Paul’s Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15.45-49,” 343; cf. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 791; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1284.

⁴²⁸ Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther*, 37, 44. Sellin, *Der Streit um die Auferstehung der Toten*, 90-174.

⁴²⁹ Worthington, *Creation in Paul and Philo*, 166, 172 [emphasis original]. According to Philo, “becoming a living soul” meant that God breathed a *corruptible* and *earthlike* mind into Adam. Philo states, “‘And God created man, taking a lump of clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life: and man became a living soul.’ The races of men are twofold; for one is the heavenly man, and the other the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, has no participation in any corruptible or earthlike essence. But the earthly man is made of loose material, which he calls a lump of clay. On which account he says, not that the heavenly man was made, but that he was fashioned according to the image of God; but the earthly man he calls a thing made, and not begotten by the maker. And we must consider that the man who was formed of earth, means the mind which is to be infused into the body, but which has not yet been so infused. And this mind would be really earthly and corruptible, if it were not that God had breathed into it the spirit of genuine life; for then it ‘exists,’ and is no longer made into a soul; and its soul is not inactive, and incapable of proper formation, but a really intellectual and living one. ‘For man,’ says Moses, ‘became a living soul.’” Philo, *Allegorical Interpretation*, I 31-32. See also Sandelin’s discussion in *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 31-38, 45-46, 119ff. Cf. Wisd 15:11: “Forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit.”

⁴³⁰ Worthington, *Creation in Paul and Philo*, 40, 141-149.

firstfruit of believers' resurrection. What then does the spiritual and heavenly body mean? If following the Philonic interpretation, corporeal Adam *itself* was mortal. That is not Paul's point. The spiritual body should be considered something that is guided by the Spirit, rather than being immaterial.⁴³¹ In verses 44 and 46 πνευματικός refers to a person who is controlled by the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor 2:14) as compared to the person who is unable to discern the things of the Spirit of God. The comparison is not, following the language of Wright, what a person is "composed of," but what he or she is "animated by."⁴³² Thus, the spiritual body should not be considered a non-material body composed of the immaterial spirit, but as a body directed or animated by the Spirit,⁴³³ or "a physical body renovated by the Spirit."⁴³⁴

Thus, Paul is emphasizing the superiority of the eschatological resurrection body of *doxa* to the pre-fallen body of *doxa*. According to Paul, there seems already to be a movement in creation towards eschatological consummation: the pre-fallen Adam as *doxa* is a pre-figure to the Last Adam as *doxa*.⁴³⁵ Richard Gaffin states this understanding well:

Adam. . . is in view as he is by virtue of creation, not as fallen but as he was before the fall. This expansion has the effect of providing, *in nuce*, a "philosophy" of history, Paul's outlook on history from its beginning up to and including its consummation...for Paul protology (first things), apart from soteriology (matters pertaining to salvation), anticipates an eschatology (last things); there is an *eschatology in view for the creation even before the fall* [my emphasis].⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ See also Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 262-269.

⁴³² Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1400. See also Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 132.

⁴³³ Thiselton, *The First Epistle to Corinthians*, 1276-1281; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 786. Dunn also points out that Paul's understanding of "'body' means rather the wholeness of existence in the particularity of that existence in a particular context." James D. Dunn, "How Are the Dead Raised? With What Body Do They Come? Reflections on 1 Corinthians 15," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 45 no 1 (Fall 2002), 15. Moreover, Dunn argued earlier, "Paul is combating the Gnostics on their ground, but in his terms." James Dunn, "1 Corinthians 15:45 - Last Adam, Life-giving Spirit," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1973), 129.

⁴³⁴ Robert H. Gundry, 'Soma' in *Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology*, SNTSMS 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976). Cf. Sandelin, who states "Der Mensch besteht sowohl hinsichtlich seines Körpers als auch hinsichtlich seiner Seele aus Erde. Hier muss man wohl von Substanz sprechen. Im Hinblick auf den Auferstehungsleib ist Paulus dagegen sehr zurückhaltend. Er bezeichnet die Substanz weder als δόξα noch als πνεῦμα. Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 133. Cf. Basil Augustine Stegmann, *Christ, the "Man from Heaven"; A Study of 1 Cor 15, 45-47 in the Light of the Anthropology of Philo Judaeus*, New Testament Studies no. 6 (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1927). He states: "if πνεῦμα or δόξα were meant by St. Paul to be the material substance of the heavenly body the contrast (sc. in V.47) would call for ἐκ πνεύματος or ἐκ δόξης."

⁴³⁵ Geerhardus Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 1979), 169.

⁴³⁶ Gaffin, "The Glory of God in Paul's Epistles," 136-137, fn. 18. Witherington articulates a similar view: "Paul considers the first Adam to have been created perfect (i.e., flawless), but Paul does not consider Adam to have been the perfect (i.e., full) human, even at this creation." "Adam was the *true* and *faultless* realization of God's 'purpose' for the *beginning* while he was not the *full* realization of God's 'purpose' for the *end*." Witherington, *Creation in Paul and Philo*, 183.

In other words, Paul is transitioning from the fallen Adam to the pre-fallen Adam by using the term *ψυχικός*. This term, therefore, primarily refers to the first pre-fallen Adam, capable of the fall, and also an already fallen first Adam's body. Paul considers it an antitype to the eschatological Adamic body. The substance of the heavenly body is *doxa*, but so is the essence of the earthly body. Thus, Paul's point is to show both the continuity of the physical body from the origin (natural) to the superior and greater form (spiritual and heavenly) *and* the discontinuity of the fallen, imperishable, dishonoring, and (morally) weak body compared to the imperishable, glorious, powerful, heavenly, and Spirit-guided body.⁴³⁷

Paul considers Christ to be the resurrected eschatological Adamic *doxa* figure who also functions as the firstfruit of believers (1 Cor 2:11-15; 3:1-3; 15:21-28; 38-44).⁴³⁸ The descriptions about Christ's *doxa* are also eschatological realities for those who will inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50). The transformation of believers will be into the likeness of the image of the last Adam: "We shall also bear the image of the heavenly one [τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου]" (1 Cor 15:49). Furthermore, the eschatological hope of believers is transformation into the likeness of the image (εἰκόν) and the glory of Christ that is described with the following expressions: clothed imperishable (ἄφθαρτοι; 1 Cor 15:52; ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν; 1 Cor 15:53; cf. 2 Cor 5:3-4), changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα; 1 Cor 15:52), and immortal (ἀθανασίαν; 1 Cor 15:53). Again, a believer's change into the the likeness of Christ's glory is not merely a process of restoration, but transformation into the even better and superior glory that the first Adam possessed.

To summarize, built on my discussion on chapter 2, in 1 Corinthians 15:39-49, Paul refers to two Adamic figures: the pre-fallen and fallen Adam, and the eschatological Second Adam. Two of the figures, the pre-fallen Adam and the eschatological resurrected Second Adam (Christ) are

⁴³⁷ Meyer seems to indicate a similar kind of movement, stating: "*creation contains within itself signs of the eschaton*" [emphasis original]. Meyer, "Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory," 146. While Sandelin does not deny the continuity of humanity, according to him *σῶμα* does not have continuity. He states: "Das vergängliche *σῶμα* geht nicht in ein unvergängliches über, sondern wird von einem unvergänglichen überkleidet. Die Kontinuität liegt somit nicht im *σῶμα*." Moreover, according to Sandelin, Paul is not interested in the nature of the substance of the risen humanity. "Paulus zeigt aber kein Interesse dafür, in welcher Beschaffenheit der auferstandene Mensch sich befindet. Er spekuliert nicht über die Substanz der Auferstehungskörper. Er stellt aber fest: dieser Körper ist ein Abbild des Christus." Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 128, 136. Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. Übersetzt und erklärt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 334 Conzelmann, H. *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. Übersetzt und erklärt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 334

⁴³⁸ Luke Timothy Johnson states, "The resurrection is, for Paul (and those who preach as he did) more than a historical event of the past concerning Jesus. It is an eschatological reality that affects believers in the present and anticipates the character of their future existence in which God will be 'all things in all things.'" Luke Timothy Johnson, "Life-Giving Spirit: The Ontological Implications of Resurrection in 1 Corinthians," in *Contested Issues in Christian Origins and the New Testament: Collected Essays by Luke Timothy Johnson* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 277-293. Also published in Luke Timothy Johnson, "Life-Giving Spirit: The Ontological Implications of Resurrection in 1 Corinthians," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 15 (2012): 75-89.

associated with *doxa*. Our study revealed how Paul considered the first Adamic body to be the body of *doxa* functioning as God's representative and a type of the eschatological greater Adam-glory figure. *Doxa* links to both, the first and the second Adam, with certain continuities and discontinuities, the second Adam's glory being superior to the first one. Paul's point is not to deny the physical eschatological body of the Second Adam. Indeed, he intentionally connects the *doxa* motif to show the continuity of the first Adam to the Second Adam as God's representatives. Paul argues against his contemporary opponents by affirming that resurrection bodies are indeed more than a restoration of (physical) humanity, not a step away from it. Even though the eschatological Adam has some characteristics that the First Adam has, Paul clearly emphasizes the superiority of the last Adam.

Paul seems to employ a "from the lesser to the greater" (light to heavy) hermeneutic. Not only are his similarities with the Jewish practice of *qal wahomer*,⁴³⁹ but Paul also seems to have a parallel view with the Hodayot's understanding of anthropogony discussed in the background chapter: the first Adam is yet to be completed by the eschatological Adam. Philo's two-Adam model has certain correspondences, with the exception that the material body *itself* is not mortal. For Paul, the second Adam is the physically resurrected Christ, who also functions as the firstfruit of believers' eschatological model and hope.

4.4. The *Doxa* of God Revealed in the Identity of Moses, Christ, and Believers in 2 Corinthians 1-4

2 Corinthians 3:18-4:18 is one of the most central passages for Paul's understanding of *doxa*. The reason for this importance is twofold. First, the number of usages of *doxa* in one single pericope exceeds by far any other passage. Indeed, *doxa* occurs fifteen times in 2 Corinthians 3-4 (2 Cor 3:7 [x2], 8, 9 [x2], 10, 11 [x2], 18 [x3], 4:4, 6, 15, 17) as a noun and two times as a verb δοξάζω (2 Cor 3:10 [x2]). *Doxa* is also mentioned once in 2 Corinthians 1:20. Additionally, *doxa* is associated with many characters: Moses, Christ, Spirit, Lord, and believers. In the following section, I will explore the nature of the figures with which *doxa* is attached and how Paul uses the *from the lesser to the greater* hermeneutical method and movement in 2 Corinthians 1-4.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ This practice was also found in the Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition, called *a fortiori* or *a minori ad maius*.

⁴⁴⁰ There is no scholarly consensus on the overall divisions of 2 Corinthians. Various scholars consider it a single document, others see it as a two-piece letter (1:1-9; 10:1-13:14), and some consider it to be from three (1-8, 9, 10-13) to five different fragments in addition to a non-Pauline interpolation (6:14-7:1). Joseph Fitzmyer thinks this to be a Pauline composition for another occasion and inserted here. See Joseph Fitzmyer, "Glory Reflected on the Face of Christ (2 Cor. 3:7-4:6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif," *Theological Studies* 42 (1981): 630-644, 632. See also H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I/II*, HNT 9; 5th ed. W. G. Kümmel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969), 111. 2 Corinthians

4.4.1. The *Doxa* of God Manifested to Moses

In 2 Corinthians 3:4-18 Paul describes the manifestation of the *doxa* of God to Moses. Paul does not quote the Moses-narrative verbatim; rather he interprets it in light of the greater and more permanent *doxa* revelation. He compares the revelation of the *doxa* of God given to Moses and the ministry of the Spirit found in Christ. On one hand, both revelations of God, one to Moses and one in Christ, are the manifestation of the *doxa* of God. On the other hand, the manifestation of the *doxa* of God in Christ is superior and more permanent.

According to Exodus 34:29-30, 34, to which Paul alludes (or paraphrases), Moses's face reflected glory because he had talked with God (δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ [Exod 34:29 LXX]), and this caused Aaron and the elders to approach him in fear. The Septuagint emphatically uses the perfect form of δοξάζω three times (δεδόξασται in Exod 34:29, 35 LXX and δεδοξασμένη in Exod 34:30 LXX) to express how the glory is reflected in the face of Moses.

Table 4.5. A Comparison between the *Doxa* in Moses and the Spirit's Ministry in 2 Corinthians 3

<i>Doxa</i> in Moses's ministry (an allusion to Exodus 34)	<i>Doxa</i> in the ministry of the Spirit, namely the <i>doxa</i> of the Lord
The ministry of death, carved in letters of stone (3:7)	
The Israelites could not gaze at Moses's face because of its <i>glory</i> [δόξαν], which was being brought to an end (3:7)	The ministry of the Spirit <i>has more glory</i> [ἐν δόξῃ] (3:8)
There is <i>glory</i> [δόξα] in the ministry of condemnation (3:9)	<i>the ministry of righteousness must far exceed it in glory</i> [δόξα] (3:9)
what once had glory [δεδόξασται] has come to have no glory [δεδοξασμένον] at all (3:10)	because of the <i>doxa</i> [δόξα] that <i>surpasses it</i> (3:10)
For if what was being brought to an end came with <i>doxa</i> [διὰ δόξης] (3:11)	much more will what is <i>permanent</i> have <i>glory</i> [ἐν δόξῃ] (3:11)
	we all, with unveiled face, beholding the <i>doxa</i> [δόξα] of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image [εἰκὼν] from one degree of <i>doxa</i> [δόξα] to another. For this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit (3:18)

3:1-4:17 is part of the larger context of 2:14-7:4, where Paul describes and defends his apostolic ministry.

For the purpose of presenting the contrast, Paul describes⁴⁴¹ the ministry of *doxa* from the Moses narrative as letters carved in stone (3:3, 7), having the power to kill (3:6) and bring death (3:7), and as being brought to an end or fading⁴⁴² (3:7, 11). It results in condemnation (3:9) so that what once had glory has come to have no *doxa* (3:10). All descriptions are negative punitive. In contrast, the ministry of the Spirit and righteousness (3:8, 9) has more (3:8), far exceeds (3:9) and surpasses (3:10) the *doxa* of the revelation of Moses, and it is permanent (3:11).

What are Paul's reasons for such a drastic contrast? The history of interpretation is long,⁴⁴³ from Early Church (such as Tertullian⁴⁴⁴ and Origen), and pre-Reformation,⁴⁴⁵ Reformation,⁴⁴⁶ to the *New Perspective* interpretations.⁴⁴⁷ According to Linda Belleville⁴⁴⁸ and Frances Back,⁴⁴⁹ Paul may have drawn from substantial parallel background thought in first-century Judaism. Belleville

⁴⁴¹ The Exodus narrative does not mention the fading/nullified glory or the Israelites' inability to behold the face of Moses. See also Linda Belleville, "Tradition of Creation? Paul's Use of the Exodus 34 Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18," in *Paul and Scriptures of Israel*, JSNT Suppl. ed. Evans and Sanders (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 165-166.

⁴⁴² There is a scholarly disagreement whether *καταργέω* means to fade a visual image or to nullify something legally. See Yongbom Lee, *Paul, Scribe of Old and New: Intertextual Insights for the Jesus-Paul Debate*, LNTS 512 (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), 90-102.

⁴⁴³ Scott Hafemann in his monograph that researches this passage in detail, has an excellent research history regarding the interpretation of 2 Corinthians 3:6-18. I am indebted to him for some of the following references. Scott Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 1-29. See also Carol K. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant*, AbBib 116 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1989). For a recent study on 2 Corinthians 3:18, see J. M. F. Heath, *Paul's Visual Piety: The Metamorphosis of the Beholder* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013).

⁴⁴⁴ During the early church, Tertullian, for example, used this passage to argue against Marcion's view that the God of the Old Testament is not the same as the God of the New Testament. According to Tertullian, the same God engraved the letters on the stone and granted the spirit to New Testament believers. Tertullian states, "Therefore 'the New Testament' will appertain to none other than Him who promised it—if not 'its letter, yet its spirit'; [2 Cor 3:6] and herein will lie its *newness*. Indeed, He who had engraved its letter in stones is the same as He who had said of its spirit, 'I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh'" [Joel 2:28]. Tertullian, *The Five Books Against Marcion*, trans. Peter Holmes, vol. 3, *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 452. On the other hand, Origen, who is known for his allegorical interpretations, used this passage among others to justify his hermeneutics.

⁴⁴⁵ Prior to the Reformation there were two main interpretations of this passage: the hermeneutical and economy-of-salvation. The first one is often traced back, not wrongly so, to Origen, whose famous *formalistic* hermeneutic contrasting the letter vs. the Spirit later influenced the entire Alexandrian hermeneutic. 2 Cor. 3:6 became one of the key passages to justify allegorical interpretation as the Spirit hermeneutic. The second view argued for two dispensations of salvation, the Law (letter) and the Gospel (Spirit), based on this passage. This understanding reads the text more literally, seeing both the letter and the spirit as valid ways of salvation in different eras.

⁴⁴⁶ The reformers totally rejected the allegorical interpretation and used this passage as one of the key sources for contrasting between the Law and the Gospel, not merely as different dispensations of salvation, but rather as equivalents to produce either death and condemnation (the Law) or life (the Spirit). The later *historical-critical method* with its emphasis on the author's intent in his historical context strengthened the latter interpretation.

⁴⁴⁷ The rise of the *New Perspective* caused a complete reshuffling of the old paradigm regarding the Pauline understanding of Law and the Gospel. Initiated by E. P. Sanders and followed by such Pauline scholars as Krister Stendahl, James Dunn, and N. T. Wright, this view has challenged the prevailing negative view of Law in the Second Temple era Judaism. According to this covenantal nominalism, the fundamental problem of first-century Judaism was not the mentality of a work's righteousness, but its ethnocentrism. Therefore, Paul's soteriology needs to be read in light of ecclesiology, namely the inclusion of Gentiles in salvation.

⁴⁴⁸ Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*. Cf. Belleville, "Tradition of Creation?," 165-186.

⁴⁴⁹ Frances Back, *Vervandlung durch Offenbarung bei Paulus: Eine religionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Untersuchung zu 2 Kor 2, 14-4, 6*, WUNT 153 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

argues that a similar Moses *doxa* tradition already existed in the Targumim, Philo, Pseudo-Philo, the Qumran Scrolls, rabbinic Literature, and the Zohar. Thus, according to her, Pauline distinctives are less radical than might otherwise be thought.⁴⁵⁰ Moreover, Back perceives an analogy in the use of the transformation concept between Paul and Philo, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, and in Joseph and Asenath.

According to Hafemann, this passage is possibly the “pride of place” in Pauline texts for providing an understanding of his hermeneutic regarding the Old Testament.⁴⁵¹ For Hafemann, the hermeneutical significance of 3:13-14 derives from Paul’s ability to explain Israel’s present rejection of the new covenant on the basis of Israel’s continuing hardened nature against God. Israel’s continuing rebellion under the Sinai covenant demonstrates, for Paul, that Israel does not have the moral ability to accept the Gospel. In other words, Israel continues to be outside the realm of the Spirit’s renewing work, so the Law still remains for Israel the ‘letter that kills.’⁴⁵²

Carey Newman argues for Paul’s defence to legitimize his own authority by comparing it to the glory of God revealed to Moses. Paul’s opponents—whether Judaizers,⁴⁵³ Jewish gnostics,⁴⁵⁴ or adherents of Hellenistic-Jewish Apologetics⁴⁵⁵—are aligning themselves with the Moses tradition.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, Paul compares and contrasts the glory of Moses and the glory of God in Christ with each other.⁴⁵⁷ He does that to show the legitimacy of both, yet the superiority of the latter. Many have noted that Paul argues *from the lesser to the greater*.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁰ Belleville does name the following Pauline distinctives compared to other contemporary thought: (1) Paul alone links the fading of Moses’s glory with the waning of the covenant; (2) Paul specifies that the veil was put in place to prevent the Israelites from gazing on the fading glory; (3) Paul associates the Spirit with the act of unveiling. Bellevilla, “Tradition of Creation?,” 185.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 458-459.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 454.

⁴⁵³ For example, see Ferdinand Christian Baur, “Die Christuspartei der korinthischen Gemeinde” (1831); reprinted in *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Klaus Scholder; 5 vols. (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1963), 1:1-164; Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 208.

⁴⁵⁴ Wilhelm Lüttert, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Christuspartei*, BFCTh 12/3 (Gütersloh: Berterlsmann, 1908), 41-101.

⁴⁵⁵ Dieter Georgi argues that the opponents are adherents of Hellenistic-Jewish Apologetics. According to Georgi, they considered Moses’s *diakonia* to represent “divine power and might, similar to that of a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* in Hellenistic-Jewish Apologetics.” Moreover, the opponents may have been influenced by Philo’s interpretation of Exodus 33 and 34 in *Moses* 2.69-70. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*, 254, see also 246-264. Cf. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief*, 246-265.

⁴⁵⁶ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 233-234. According to Sini Hulmi, “Paul’s adversaries are moderately conservative Jewish Christians, who regarded themselves as followers of Moses. They had an enthusiastic-pneumatic emphasis and were probably Peterian Christians.” Sini Hulmi, *Paulus und Mose - Argumentation und Polemik in 2 Kor 3*, Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 77 (Helsinki: Finnische Exegetische Gesellschaft, 1999), 212. See also pages 190-195.

⁴⁵⁷ See also Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, TNIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 256-319.

⁴⁵⁸ See Hans Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924), 112-113; Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 232; David Daube, “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric,” *HUCA*

According to Paul Duff,⁴⁵⁹ Paul focuses on the inclusion of Gentiles since he was addressing a Gentile congregation (1 Cor 12:2). Duff argues that the Torah specifically brought death to the Gentiles because they rejected it despite the fact that God offered it to them: “Paul’s intent is to point out that Moses’ διακονία brought condemnation and death to that portion of humanity that did not keep the Law, that is, primarily the gentiles.”⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, God’s glory is associated with the punishment of his enemies and thus “Moses’ glorious ministry of death and condemnation (2 Cor 3:7-9) points to God’s condemnation of the gentiles.”⁴⁶¹ Paul would have then used this background, namely, the condemnation that the Old Covenant brought to the Gentiles, as a lesser glory. The greater glory is the Christ-way that provides reconciliation for Gentiles without them following the Torah. Duff’s interpretation would solve the problem of calling the Moses covenant glorious, yet bringing in death and condemnation at the same time. I agree with Duff that God’s glory indeed is intensely linked with judgment within the Jewish tradition; however, this judgment is *not* pointed exclusively towards Gentiles, but includes the Israelites as well. Therefore, Duff’s argumentation does not prove his point about exclusive Gentile judgment here.

Rather, it is more possible to see Paul referring to the Exodus texts regarding the death that breaking the Law brought to Israelites. According to Paul, the law never had salvific ability despite its goodness (Rom 7:7). The Mosaic covenant blessings (Deut 7:12-15; 11:26-27) and curses (Deut 11:28-29) that resulted from the chosen people following or rejecting the commandments were known to all first-century Jews. For Paul, the Gentiles had not received the external law, and thus, they could not be condemned according to it. Rather, the (same) law was written on their hearts (Rom 2:14-15). Since there is not a single Pauline text that would verify Duff’s argument and no contemporary Jewish text to show unequivocal evidence, it seems that Paul is not referring to Mosaic glory as a condemnation of the Gentiles.

(1949): 251-258; and Hermann L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 7. Auflage, Beck’sche Elementarbücher (München: Beck, 1982), 28. Stemberger gives an example from Ketubbot 111b: “ein *qal-wa-choner* vom Weizenkorn: dieses wird nackt begraben und kommt bekleidet heraus. Wieviel mehr ist dies von den Gerechten zu erwarten, die bekleidet begraben werden.” See also Paul B. Duff, “Glory in the Ministry of Death: Gentile Condemnation and Letters of Recommendation in 2 Cor. 3:6-18,” *NT* 46 no 4 (2004): 313-337. Duff argues against the majority of earlier scholarship that Paul is not speaking against Judaism and the sufficiency of the salvific effect of the Torah; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 279, 286; Calvin J. Roetzel, *2 Corinthians*, Abingdon New Testament Commentaries, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 63.

⁴⁵⁹ Duff, “Glory in the Ministry of Death: Gentile Condemnation and Letters of Recommendation in 2 Cor. 3:6-18,” 4.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁴⁶¹ Paul B. Duff, *Moses in Corinth: Apologetic Context of 2 Corinthians*, NovTSup 159 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 168. Duff’s main thesis in his book is that Paul’s allusion to Moses should be explained by apologia for his own ministry that was questioned by the Corinthian community within, rather than the “false apostles” outside.

This interpretation does not mean, however, that Paul was possibly not addressing the Gentiles as well. Despite his argumentation from the Mosaic Covenant that was meant for the Israelites, he still also addresses the Gentiles. For a long time scholars have struggled over the fact that Paul uses numerous references from the Jewish Scriptures to prove his points to a Gentile audience. As early as 1962, W. C. van Unnik notes that 2 Corinthians 3:17-18 should be considered one of the clearest expressions of Paul's mysticism.⁴⁶² Similar to M. D. Hooker,⁴⁶³ A. T. Hanson,⁴⁶⁴ and others, Joseph A. Fitzmyer argues in his article that Paul is indulging in an obvious Jewish *midrashic* interpretation technique.⁴⁶⁵ The *midrashic* interpretation was a common rabbinic method where the Torah was expounded, explained, and developed.⁴⁶⁶ Besides pointing out clear connections to Exodus 34, he supports his argument by pointing to four passages from Qumran in which he finds similar argumentation as found in this text.⁴⁶⁷ According to Fitzmyer, the Qumran community considered that God caused the light to shine on the hearts of the teacher of righteousness and the priests.⁴⁶⁸ Because of the obvious Jewish nature of the text and argument, Fitzmyer considers 2 Corinthians 3-4 to be a later inserted piece from Paul.⁴⁶⁹

Despite that fact that the Corinthian church consisted of Gentiles (1 Cor 12:2 ἔθνη), there were also a number of Jews in the congregation (e.g. Crispus, Jason, and Sosipater).⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, it seems that the opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians 3-4 were Jews who were using the Torah to carry out their agenda. Indeed, it is probable that they taught that keeping the Law of Moses was the way of righteousness. According to Sini Hulmi, the adversaries were probably Jewish Petrine Christians.⁴⁷¹ More convincingly, George H. van Kooten argues that Paul addresses both audiences: the pagans who viewed Moses unquestionably negatively and the Jewish sophists.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶² W. C. van Unnik, "'With Unveiled Face': An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 3:12-18," *Nov. T 6* (1963-64): 153-69.

⁴⁶³ M. D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things That Are Written? St. Paul's Use of Scripture," *NTS* 27 (1981): 295-309.

⁴⁶⁴ A. T. Hanson, "The Midrash in II Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration," *JSNT* 9 (1990): 2-28.

⁴⁶⁵ Fitzmyer, *2 Corinthians*, 632.

⁴⁶⁶ David Instone-Brewer argues that the term *midrashic* is used two different ways: (1) a method of exegesis, and (2) the genre of literature. David Instone-Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 3.

⁴⁶⁷ 1QH 4:5-6; 1QH 4:27-29; 1QH 4:27-29; 1QSb 4:24-28. It is worthwhile to note that only two of them mention glory (*kabod*): 1QH 4:27-29 and 1QSb 4:24-28.

⁴⁶⁸ Fitzmyer, *2 Corinthians*, 630-644.

⁴⁶⁹ According to Fitzmyer, "It was composed by Paul for another occasion and inserted into this place in 2 Corinthians." Fitzmyer, *2 Corinthians*, 632. So also Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, 11.

⁴⁷⁰ Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 216.

⁴⁷¹ Hulmi, *Paulus und Mose*, 190-195.

⁴⁷² George H. Van Kooten has recently suggested that the reason for including Exodus 34 in this passage is twofold: (1) the Pagan perception of Moses was associated with works such as Hecataeus, Diodorus, and Tacitus; and (2) the Jewish perception of Moses was in the midst of anti-sophistic polemics. See George H. Van Kooten, "Why Did Paul Include an Exegesis of Moses' Shining Face (Exod 34) in 2 Cor 3? Moses' Strength, Well-being and (Transitory) Glory, according to Philo, Josephus, Paul and the Corinthian Sophists," in *The Significance of Sinai* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 149-181.

The Mosaic law is temporal and inferior to the manifestation of Christ, and consequently Paul also presents it in a negative light.

To conclude, Paul describes both God's revelation in letter and stone (the manifestation of the Law) and the ministry of the Spirit as *doxa* to both his Jew and Gentile audience. Indeed the common denominator to both is *doxa*. Paul highlights the continuity of the revelation of the *doxa* of God. The revelation of God displayed on the face of Moses as *doxa*, however, is inferior and temporary compared to the superior and more permanent ministry of the Spirit of *doxa*.⁴⁷³ Both glories are revelations and both revelations are glories. Therefore, the manifestations of *doxa* are not so much antithetical as they are progressive and advancing. Paul apparently interprets the Mosaic revelation as lesser than Christ. While Paul does not make a direct parallel to Adamic glory here, he may employ a similar rabbinic hermeneutical method, *qal wahomer*, to argue from the lesser to the greater.

4.4.2. The Identity and the Nature of the *Doxa* of the Lord

After determining that Paul considers both revelations of God, the one given to Moses and the one found in Christ, *doxa*, Paul also describes the nature and identity of the *doxa* of the Lord in Christ.⁴⁷⁴ Paul depicts Christ as the *doxa* of God, representing God's intrinsic *and* derived *doxa*. Christ fulfills all the promises to vindicate the *doxa* of God:⁴⁷⁵ "For all the promises of God find their Yes in him. That is why it is through him that we utter our Amen to God for his glory [πρὸς δόξαν]" (2 Cor 1:20).⁴⁷⁶ The following four aspects of Christ's identity and nature as the image and *doxa* of God give a foundation how the glory of God is being vindicated through Christ.

First, Paul describes Christ as the *doxa* of the Lord (τὴν δόξαν κυρίου), who is Spirit (2 Cor 3:18). The identification of κύριος is notably debated. Many identify κύριος in verses 16-17a as the risen Lord Jesus.⁴⁷⁷ However, Paul seems to use this honorific term for the Yahweh of the

⁴⁷³ Newman also argues that the revelation of glory legitimizes authority, both to Moses and Paul. According to Newman, "By comparing and contrasting the two revelations of Glory Paul seeks to legitimize his apostolic authority, establish the eschatological superiority of his gospel and vindicate his life of suffering." Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 229, 232-233.

⁴⁷⁴ Kim has shown convincingly that the Damascus road experience played a foundational role in this transformation to consider Christ as the image and glory of God. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*. See also Paul Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 224-225.

⁴⁷⁵ Kevin P. Conway, *The Promises of God: The Background of Paul's Exclusive Use of 'Epangelia' for the Divine Pledge*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 211 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

⁴⁷⁶ 2 Corinthians 1:20 itself is a complicated phrase in Greek with many prepositional clauses. See Harris's discussion on this. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 202-205. See also Taras Khomych's article, Taras Khomych, "The Construction of 2 Corinthians 1,20 Revisited," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 103 no 2 (Jan 2012): 283-290.

⁴⁷⁷ See a list of interpreters in Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 310.

Hebrew Scriptures in verse 17,⁴⁷⁸ for it comments on verses 15-16. But in verse 18 he employs the same term (τὴν δόξαν κυρίου) in conjunction with Christ together with *doxa* because of its reference to εἰκὼν. The Spirit mediates the presence of Yahweh (= the Lord) and the presence of Christ the Lord. In this way Paul wants his audience to identify Christ with the intrinsic character of the *doxa* of God.

Second, Paul equates the *doxa* of Christ with the image (εἰκὼν) of God found in Christ (2 Cor 4:4; cf. Roman 8:29; 1 Cor 15:49):

In their case the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ [τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ], who is the image of God [εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ]. For what we proclaim is not ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord, with ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake. For God, who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ [τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ]. (2 Cor 4:4-6)

Paul is drawing again from the Genesis narrative account, where Adam (i.e. humanity) is described as being created in God's image.⁴⁷⁹ Paul associates this Adamic image with the *doxa* of Christ.⁴⁸⁰ He not only employs the word εἰκὼν, but also quotes Genesis 1:3 to parallel the Christ-theophany with creation.⁴⁸¹

Third, Paul depicts the knowledge of the *doxa* of God as found in the face of Christ: "τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ" (2 Cor 4:6). The Exodus narrative undergirds the background to this passage as well.⁴⁸² Paul emphatically *contrasts* the *doxa* seen in Moses's face (Exod 33:18-23) with the *doxa* of God found in the face of Christ, arguing that the latter is substantially superior. The glory (of God)⁴⁸³ was reflected in Moses face and was *fading*, the glory of God is *found* in the face of Christ and is *permanent*. Paul uses the veil of the Exodus story to allude to the god of this present world and his ability to blind the eyes of people to the glory of God in the face of Christ. "Christ is not presented as an entity which reflects the glory of God, but is in

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 314.

⁴⁷⁹ Seifrid explains, "Adam was an anticipation of Christ – yet a mere anticipation." Mark Seifrid, *The Second Letter to Corinthians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2014), 184. See also A. Feuillet, "The Christ-Image of God according to St. Paul (2 Cor. 4:4)," *Bible Today* 1 (1965): 1409-14; see also Barnett, *2 Corinthians*, 207.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Col 1:15: "[Christ], who is the image of God [ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ]."

⁴⁸¹ Paul's phrase "the god of this world" may be also allusion to the creation-fall narrative.

⁴⁸² See also Barnett, *2 Corinthians*, 219.

⁴⁸³ The relationship between the glory of God and the glory that Moses reflects is ambiguous. Neither Exodus 33-34 nor 2 Corinthians 3 say directly that the *doxa* that Moses reflected was God's glory. However, Aaron and the elders react with fear when beholding Moses's face. This seems to indicate a connection to the glory of the Lord.

fact presented as the glory of God...Christ embodies the glory of God.”⁴⁸⁴

Fourth, the *doxa* motif in the book of Isaiah is significant as the background for the *doxa* motif in 2 Corinthians 4:4-6. Timothy Savage posits that Paul draws from various Isaiahic *doxa* passages, particularly from Isaiah 60:1-3, to connect with the light and *doxa* themes around Christ.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, Jeffrey Aernie suggests that Paul’s “Christological dimension of the glory of God (ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ) may also hark to the intertextual connection developed in the LXX between Isa 9:2 and 53:11.”⁴⁸⁶

Fifth, Paul equates the Gospel with the *doxa* of Christ. Although sometimes the Greek phrase “τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ” is translated adjectively,⁴⁸⁷ it is better to see it as an exegetical or appositional construction: “the Gospel, namely, the glory of Christ,” or as a genitive of content: “The Gospel that contains the glory,” or an objective genitive: “The Gospel that displays the glory.”⁴⁸⁸ Thus, the glory is identified with the person of Christ in relation to the “salvific work of God in the Gospel.”⁴⁸⁹ For Paul, Christ’s identification with the essential glory of God *and* the derived glory of God as human representative is the Gospel.

Thus, Paul depicts the nature and the identity of Christ as the one who shares both God’s intrinsic *doxa* and his derived *doxa*. On one hand, Christ is the *doxa* of the Lord, fully equated with the intrinsic and essential character of the Lord. On the other hand, Paul associates Christ with the image of God, identifying him with the Adamic figure. Christ as God’s representative, intrinsic and derived alike, fulfills the promises of God to ultimately vindicate the *doxa* of God.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, for Paul, Christ is at the same time the very Gospel that Paul is preaching (instead of himself)⁴⁹¹ and the image he calls his audience to imitate.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁴ Jeffrey W. Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?: An Examination of the Relationship between Paul and the Old Testament Prophetic Tradition in 2 Corinthians*, LNTS 467 (London: T & T Clark, 2012), 201. Cf. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 416.

⁴⁸⁵ Timothy B. Savage, *Power through Weakness: Paul’s Understanding of the Christian Ministry in 2 Corinthians* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996), 103-129.

⁴⁸⁶ Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 205-215.

⁴⁸⁷ For example, the KJV says “the glorious Gospel.”

⁴⁸⁸ BDF, 167-168 (2); Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 92-100, 116-119; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 330.

⁴⁸⁹ Belleville lists many suggestions for describing glory, such as a visible, facial splendor as was the case with Moses, the nature and character of God, a visible symbol or outward expression of God’s presence and majesty, the radiant light of God’s self-revelation, an inward renewal of the mind or moral character, personal worth or reputation, the power of God, and the ecstatic behavior of Paul’s opponents. She herself says, “Taken in the context of Paul’s commendation of the gospel minister, however, it is probable that by ‘glory’ he has in mind knowledge of the salvific work of God in the Gospel.” Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 284.

⁴⁹⁰ See also Paul’s statement found in 2 Corinthians 5:19: “God was in Christ [θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ] reconciling the world to Himself.”

⁴⁹¹ See Michael P. Knowles, *We Preach Not Ourselves: Paul on Proclamation* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2008).

⁴⁹² In this passage we can see again that Paul often joins εἰκόν and δόξα together (cf. Rom 1:23; 8:29; 1 Cor 11:7; 2 Cor 3:18, 4:4). See also Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 230.

4.4.3. Believers' Eschatological Transformation into the Likeness of the *Doxa* of Christ

Paul uses *doxa* in yet another way, namely to describe the transformation of believers into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ. In 3:1-18 Paul moves from the *past* glory theophany of Moses to the *present* glory theophany of Christ. This revelation is substantially greater and more enduring than the previous one. The third glory theophany in this passage is described when the glory of Christ is *shared* with the Corinthian believers. Paul motivates the Corinthians to stand against their opponents in their present suffering situation by appealing to *future* participation in the glory of Christ (2 Cor 3:18; 4:7-16). While this participatory glory is currently starting to take place, as seen in 2 Corinthians 3:18, the ultimate glorification will come to fruition in the future. Indeed, this paradigm is expressed in four different ways.

The first way this paradigm can be seen is in Paul's description of the *doxa* of Christ as the object of the believers' current beholding: "We all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord [τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι], are being transformed into the same image [εἰκόνα] from one degree of glory [ἀπὸ δόξης] to another [glory; εἰς δόξαν]. For this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit" (2 Cor 3:18).

According to Wright,⁴⁹³ 3:18 means that believers mirror this glory to each other.⁴⁹⁴ Wright argues that the Corinthians themselves are the letter of recommendation to Paul and his companions (3:2-3). The Corinthians are gazing at the glory of the Lord as in a mirror "when . . . [they] are looking at one another: The Corinthians at the apostle, *and the apostle at the Corinthians*, and indeed *the Corinthians at one another* [emphasis original]."⁴⁹⁵ Moreover, the same spirit that is present in verse 3 is also the Lord in verses 17-18. Thus, the spirit who dwells now in believers is the very glory that they are looking at in each other. The glory is now revealed "in the fellowship of the Messiah's people, where the spirit is at work."⁴⁹⁶

In my assessment, Wright fails to consider a crucial element in the passage. True, as Wright points out, the Spirit dominates chapter 3. Thus it is easy to mistake the spirit to which he is

⁴⁹³ Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 75-192. See also N. T. Wright, "Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18," in *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament: Studies in Christology in Memory of George Bradford Caird*, ed. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 139-150. Cf. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 726.

⁴⁹⁴ Paul Duff, following his conclusion regarding the mosaic glory that brought death to Gentiles, makes a case that ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν refers to the "Corinthians' own experience of transformation from their previous status, condemned before God and under the sentence of death, to their new status as reconciled to God." This interpretation is, however, unlikely when one realizes that the reference to the Gentile Torah interpretation is not as warranted as Duff would like it to be.

⁴⁹⁵ Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 726. Moreover, Wright says, "Paul is not saying that one is changed into the same image as Christ. He is asserting that Christians are changed into the same image with each other." Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 188.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

referring as the already dwelling Spirit in those who are in Christ. However, since Christ is the last Adam (ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ; 1 Cor 15:45), who is also the life-giving Spirit (πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν; 1 Cor 15:45b), it seems warranted to say that the Spirit here refers to the second Adam, namely to Christ. Indeed, Paul addresses the Lord as Spirit (ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν in 3:17 and probably in 3:18 ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος) while at the same time distinguishing them from each other (οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία; 2 Cor 3:17).⁴⁹⁷ While the gift of the Spirit allows the first “Adams” to attach themselves to the last Adam, it is the Spirit of the Lord upon whom the Corinthians are gazing. After all, the title κύριος in Paul’s mind is granted only to Yahweh and Christ, the second Adam, not to the Spirit, as Wright claims. While Christ does share his glory with other humanity, he does not share his lordship. The sharing of lordship happens between God and Christ. Thus, the glory of the Lord that the people are beholding is the glory of Christ.

Moreover, the glory of Christ that the believers are called to observe is that of the crucified and resurrected Christ (2 Cor 4:7-14). The paradoxical statement of the suffering *doxa* figure is again highlighted in a parallel to 1 Corinthians 2. The allusion to Isaiah 52:13-53:12 in this passage is widely acknowledged by scholarship.⁴⁹⁸ For my purpose, it is germane to note that Isaiah 52:13-53:2 uses δόξα and its derivatives four times.

See, my servant shall understand and he shall be exalted and *glorified* [δοξασθήσεται] exceedingly. Just as many shall be astonished at you – so shall your appearance be *without glory* [ἀδοξήσῃ] from men, and *your glory* [ἡ δόξα σου] be absent from the men – so shall many nations be astonished at him, and kings shall shut their mouth, because those who were not informed about him shall see and those who did not hear shall understand. Lord, who has believed our report? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? He grew up before him like a child, like a root in a thirsty land; *he has no form of glory* [οὐδὲ δόξα], and we saw him, and he had no form or beauty. (Is 52:14-53:2 LXX NETS)

The author of Isaiah describes the object being seen as something *not* having glory. Paul, on the other hand, urges his readers to look at the glory of Christ, the dead and resurrected one, and to identify with it. Again, there seems to be an association between Adam and the eschatological Servant figure who represents and comes out of Israel.

The second way Paul describes the transformation of the people into the likeness of the

⁴⁹⁷ James Dunn, among others, sees the Lord as a reference to the Spirit without any correlation to Christ. See, for example, James D. Dunn, “2 Corinthians III.17 – ‘The Lord is the Spirit,’” *JNT* 31/2 (1970): 309-320. Emily Wong defends in detail the fact that the spirit should not be identified with Christ or God. Emily Wong, “The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),” *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 61 no 1 (Apr 1985): 48-72. Emily Wong, “The Lord is the Spirit. A Study of 2 Cor. 3, 17a in Conjunction with 2 Cor 3, 16” (PhD diss., Leuven, 1984). Cf. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 183-184. See also C. F. D. Moule, “2 Cor. 3.18b, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte*, Cullman Festschrift, ed. H. Baltensweiler and B. Reicke (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 233-237.

⁴⁹⁸ Heath, *Paul’s Visual Piety*, 231-232.

doxa of Christ is by showing how unbelievers are changed from Moses's glory [ἀπὸ δόξης] to believers by seeing Christ's glory. The purpose of the glory of Moses was not salvific, and thus it is the glory from which they are to be transformed.⁴⁹⁹ I suggest that Paul associates ἀπὸ δόξης with the Decalogue revelation. After all, that is the most natural reading of the first reference to *doxa*. That is not to deny, however, that this glory is ever increasing.⁵⁰⁰

Many scholars have shown that the Decalogue-giving and the golden calf episodes function as "creation-fall" episodes in Exodus. Hafemann sums this up well: "Like the original creation narrative, the re-creation of a people to enjoy God's presence at Sinai is followed by a "fall" which separates them from the glory of God. As such, like Adam and Eve, Israel's sin with the golden calf becomes deterministic and paradigmatic for Israel's future history of God's people."⁵⁰¹ Additionally, Amar Annus has recently argued from Mesopotamian and other sources that in various Jewish theological speculations "the primordial luminous garment of Adam is directly related to Moses' shining face on Sinai."⁵⁰²

Moreover, there are textual links that argue for the creation of the Adam and Israel background. Paul refers to the creation-fall story in this passage to make an analogical point. Even though "for God said: Let the light shine out of darkness" (2 Cor 4:6) is not a quotation verbatim, Paul seems to refer to the creation text found in Genesis 1:3 to make an analogy between the creation event and the illuminary preaching event.⁵⁰³ Similar to the creation-narrative where light banished the darkness, the proclamation of Christ causes light to shine in "our hearts to give light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor 4:6)." Also, there could be an intentional parallel link to the creation account, where the serpent (ὄφις) lures Eve to eat from a certain tree by causing her to doubt God's words with Paul's reference to "the god of this world, who has blinded the minds of unbelievers, that they are not able to see the light of the Gospel of Glory of Christ, who is the image of God" (2 Cor 4:4).

Furthermore, there is a neglected, yet definite, link to Isaiah 40:1-10 in 2 Corinthians 3:18-4:4.⁵⁰⁴ Scholars have overlooked an interesting and relevant issue regarding the use of *doxa*. *Doxa*

⁴⁹⁹ Scott Hafemann, "The Glory and Veil of Moses in 2 Cor 3:7-14: an Example of Paul's Contextual Exegesis of the OT—A Proposal," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 14 no 1 (Jun 1992): 31-49.

⁵⁰⁰ Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 316.

⁵⁰¹ Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 228-230. Hafemann observes in a detailed footnote the parallels between the creation-fall story found in Genesis 1-3 and Israel's story found in Exodus both textual-structurally and in rabbinic literature.

⁵⁰² Amar Annus, "The Mesopotamian Precursors of Adam's Garment of Glory and Moses' Shining Face," in *Identities and Societies in the Ancient East-Mediterranean Regions*, ed. Thomas R. Kämmer (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), 1-17.

⁵⁰³ See Peter Balla, "2 Corinthians," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 762-764.

⁵⁰⁴ Savage, *Power through Weakness*, 103-129. Note especially 111-127 for the use of *doxa* in Isaiah in light of 2 Cor

is used in two different ways in this passage in the Septuagint. Δόξα κυρίου is a reference to God and πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου is a reference to humanity. The Septuagint translates יְהוָה־לְבָרִי as πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου. This occurrence is the only time in the LXX when יְהוָה is translated as δόξα.

A voice of one crying out in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the paths of our God. Every ravine shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill be made low, and all the crooked ways shall become straight, and the rough place shall become plains. Then *the glory of the Lord* [ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου] shall appear, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, because the Lord has spoken. A voice of one saying, “Cry out!” And I said, “What shall I cry?” All flesh is grass; *all the glory of man is like the flower of grass* [καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου]. The grass has withered, and the flower has fallen, but the word of our God remains forever. Go up on a high mountain, *you who bring good tidings to Zion*; lift up your voice with strength, you who bring good tidings to Jerusalem; lift it up, do not fear, say to the cities of Judah, “See, your God!” (Is 40:3-9 LXX NETS)

The *doxa* of man will fade away eventually. The fading glory could be referring to the sinful state of Israel, but it may also be an allusion to the creation account (Gen 2:23) referring to all humanity, including the Gentiles. This transitory and mortal glory is compared to the revelation of the glory of God (ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου) (Is 40:5 LXX). The one who is heralding the good news (ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος) is called to turn the attention of Zion and Jerusalem to see God. The object of the good news is God himself (ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν; Is 40:9 LXX). Thus, there is a parallelism between Isaiah 40:1-10 and 2 Corinthians 3:18: the movement from the lesser glory (of Adam and Moses) to the greater glory (God who is now found in the face of Christ).

Additionally, Paul uses εἰκόν twice in this passage (2 Cor 3:18; 4:4) and refers not only to the image of Christ (the second Adam) but also to the image into which the beholders are being transformed (2 Cor 3:18). Εἰκόν is used synonymously with δόξα⁵⁰⁵ to communicate Adam’s role to represent God.

Therefore, even though most commentators see ἀπὸ δόξης as the initial glory of Christ that is starting to take place progressively with those who behold him, I suggest that Paul is referring to humanity’s fading glory (both the manifestation of Adam and Moses) and that εἰς δόξαν refers to the revelation of God found in the face of Christ. Even though Paul does not make an explicit reference to Adam, for the aforementioned reasons it does seem that the glory manifested in Moses functions as a parallel to God’s image found in Adam. Paul is not negligent of this association between Moses and Adam elsewhere, as I tried to show when discussing Romans 1. To conclude,

3-4. See also L. H. Brockington, “The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in DOKSA,” *VT* 1 (1951): 23-32.

⁵⁰⁵ “Face” becomes almost synonymous with “glory.” According to the LXX, Moses’s face is glorified three times in Exodus 34 (29, 30, 35). The translator connects the face with shining by translating מִן הַכָּוֶכֶד as δοξάζω.

ἀπὸ δόξης refers primarily to the Mosaic glory that does not have a redeeming effect, thus is inferior to the glory of Christ, yet still possibly reflects the face of God. Moreover, it is indeed possible that Moses's glory is parallel to the creation story of Adamic glory.⁵⁰⁶

Third, when Paul describes the transformation of believers into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ, he explains how this Gospel of *doxa* is seen⁵⁰⁷ and treasured. Is it by vision just like when he saw Christ?⁵⁰⁸ Is it by looking at believers, as Wright claims? Or is it by external proclamation of the 1 Corinthians 15:1-4 message to people and the internal witness of the Spirit? The admittedly difficult word κατοπτριζόμενοι could be translated as “to produce a reflection” (active meaning), “to look at oneself in a mirror” (middle), “what is seen in the mirror” (passive), or “to look at something, contemplate” (passive less literal). Seyoon Kim argues convincingly that Paul's theology indicated in this passage is inherited from his own conversion experience, the Damascus Christophany.⁵⁰⁹ Paul does not, however, expect this Damascus road manifestation to take place in other people's lives in a similar fashion to his (1 Cor 15:8). Rather, the object of their beholding (passive reading) is the proclaimed Lord, Jesus Christ. The heralding of the death and the resurrection of Christ, the second Adam, the shared image of Adam, and the glory of God is the manner that the Corinthians come to see.⁵¹⁰ Furthermore, the Spirit of God to illuminate the external proclamation of Christ is needed in order to see the glory of Christ.⁵¹¹ Therefore, to claim that the believers are gazing at each other seems unwarranted. Rather, the proclamation *not* of themselves, but of Christ, as the image and the glory of God and the illumination of the Spirit are the fundamental origins of one being transformed into his image.

Moreover, Paul seems to follow the patterns found in Isaiah 40, Isaiah 60, and Psalm 62:3. Similar to Isaiah 60, where the glory of God is the object of the proclamation of the Gospel, Psalm 62:3 (οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὠφθην σοι τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δυνάμιν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου) depicts the glory

⁵⁰⁶ Andrei A. Orlov suggests a similarity: the glory of Enoch and Moses corresponding to the glory of Adam and Moses. Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Andrei A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 327–343. I am indebted to George van Kooten for these references.

⁵⁰⁷ Heath, *Paul's Visual Piety*. Heath argues that visual piety has a power to transform relationships between God and humanity and among believers.

⁵⁰⁸ S. Grindheim, “Apostate Turned Prophet: Paul's Prophetic Self-Understanding and Prophetic Hermeneutic with Special Reference to Galatians 3:10-12,” *NTS* 53 (2007), 555; T. Schmeller, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (Ostfildern: Patmos Verlag, 2010), 248; Margareth Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: T & T Clark, 1994), 318.

⁵⁰⁹ Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*; See also Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). Cf. Acts 7:55: “ὕπαρχον δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀπενίστας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶδεν δόξαν θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.”

⁵¹⁰ See Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 409.

⁵¹¹ See Tim Wiarda, *Spirit and Word: Dual Testimony in Paul, John, and Luke*, LNTS 565 (New York: T & T Clark, 2016).

of God as the object of David's beholding. Paul pictures the eschatological passages previewed in the Jewish Scriptures of seeing God's glory reaching its pinnacle and coming into fruition in the Christ-event.

Fourth, Henry Nguyen has shown that the transformation into Christ's glory is both internal and external in nature.⁵¹² According to Nguyen and Margaret Thrall, the Corinthians were preoccupied with external superficialities and outward appearance.⁵¹³ Nguyen argues that Paul is reacting "against the Corinthian Christians' exploitation of certain ideal aspects of *persona* (e.g. social status, privilege, and eloquence)."⁵¹⁴ Additionally, the inferiority of Moses's ministry was merely outward and fading glory. Paul addresses this superficiality by emphasizing the superiority of the inward work of the Spirit that moulds the character of the person through the inner heart into the lasting glory of Christ.

To focus on internal transformation does not mean that external and physical change is eradicated. Rather, according to Nguyen, the result of the change into the image and person of Christ is a visible transformation into the "'dying and life of Christ,' which is crucial for Paul's defence of his ministry, since the Corinthians have criticised him for the weak outward appearance."⁵¹⁵ The internal power and glory are manifested in the midst of visible afflictions and weakness.⁵¹⁶

Therefore, finally, Paul describes the change of believers into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ is by motivating his audience to suffer in light of the future eschatological transformation into *doxa* (2 Cor 4:17-18). When considering Paul's glory motif, scholars sometimes overlook the relationship between 2 Corinthians 3:18-4:6 and 4:7-18. Wright is not alone in paying insufficient attention to the following passage when discussing 3:18.⁵¹⁷ However, there is an intentional link between these passages when Paul develops his eschatology of transformation regarding glory.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹² Henry V. Nguyen, *Christian Identity in Corinth: A Comparative Study of 2 Corinthians, Epictetus and Valerius Maximus*, WUNT II/243 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 152-194.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 159-163. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 246.

⁵¹⁴ Nguyen, *Christian Identity in Corinth*, 150-151.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 194. Cf. Aejmelaeus, *Schwachheit als Waffe*, who discusses "the strength in weakness theme" in 2 Corinthians 10-13.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 193.

⁵¹⁷ Indeed, most scholars limit the conversation regarding *doxa*, ending at 4:6. For example, Newman states, "Paul's clearest, most extensive use of the Glory tradition occurs in 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6." Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 229. Moreover, many studies either start or end at this verse. For example, C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical and Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4.7-5:21* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991); Paul Han, *Swimming in the Sea of Scripture: Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 2 Corinthians 4:7-13:13*, LNTS 519 (London: T & T Clark, 2014). Ben C. Blackwell is a positive exception to this. Blackwell, *Christosis*.

⁵¹⁸ The transitional two verses (4:16-18) connect the previous passage 4:7-13, life in the midst of difficulties, with the upcoming focus on life after death (5:1-10).

Table 4.6. 2 Corinthians 4:17-18

So we do not lose heart	
Though our outer self is wasting away	our inner self is being renewed day by day.
For this light momentary affliction	is preparing for us an <i>eternal weight of glory</i> beyond all comparison [εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης]
as we look not [σκοπούντων] to the things that are seen	but to the things that are unseen [τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα]
For the things that are seen are temporal/seasonal [πρόσκαιρα]	but the things that are unseen are eternal [αἰώνια].

As the table above indicates, Paul's encouragement to Corinthian believers to press on is based on the comparative superiority of the eschatological *doxa* over the present-day suffering (2 Corinthians 4:7-13 and 5:1-4).

The eschatological glorification of believers does not take place through looking inside of themselves or to the existing world. At the same time, eschatological glorification does not promise to take believers out of the world. The inner transformation is not taking place when believers are looking at each other; rather, it is happening when they are setting their watch on unseen (τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα) and eternal (αἰώνιον) things away from themselves. The glory that awaits, the renewal of the inner self, is founded on something else than the believers themselves. Nevertheless, ultimate glory and life will be put on, and believers will be clothed (2 Cor 5:4; ἐπενδύσασθαι) from outside by "the eternal building that comes from heaven" (2 Cor 5:1).

Paradoxically, when believers are communally looking outside of themselves, their insides are being renewed day by day (ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα) at the same time as the outside is wasting away. In this way, eschatological glorification is already partially present.⁵¹⁹ The renewal of the inside is probably the transformation of degree from glory to glory. Yet, because Paul does not consider the physical body to be inherently evil, the new reality is continuous, unlike what they have ever seen or experienced, namely, eternal glory will be their inheritance. Paul uses an emphatic construction of αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης here. As we observed earlier, *kabod* itself literally means heaviness, and so does βάρος.⁵²⁰ Indeed, *kabod* was translated at certain points as βάρος in the Septuagint.⁵²¹ Paul wants to describe as emphatically as possible the ultimate eschatological

⁵¹⁹ See Fredrik Lindgård, who states: "The present character of the wasting away and renewal in the preceding verse shows that the sufferings as well as the glory are at least partially present...The glory rather points to an already in-the-present-experienced aspect of the resurrection life in fellowship with Christ...The glory is probably better understood as the sum of the god-given existence anticipated already now." Fredrik Lindgård, *Paul's Line of Thought in 2 Corinthians 4:16-5:10*, WUNT II/189 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 121-126.

⁵²⁰ BGDG, "βάρος."

⁵²¹ Job 6:3; Prov 27:3.

importance here: it is substantially greater and means complete participation in the derived glory of God shared in Christ.

The ultimate eschatological and eternal state of those who are *suffering* now for the sake of the Gospel of the glory of Christ will be eternal union with this same Christ. While this transformation is progressive here, just like in 3:18, the final consummation happens in the resurrection of the dead (4:14). Therefore, Paul summons believers to bear the present-day sufferings for the sake of future glory. To recapitulate, the aforementioned five keys explain another element in the *doxa* motif. In 2 Corinthians 3-4 Paul motivates believers in the midst of suffering, and cultivates hopeful expectation of transformation into the derived *doxa* of Christ.

4.4.4. The Vindication of the *Doxa* of God

The ultimate reason (ἵνα) for all the aforementioned aspects of *doxa* movements from Moses to Christ and from Christ to believers is the vindication of the *doxa* of God. The passage has one more occurrence of *doxa* found in 4:15: “grace extends to more and more people it may increase thanksgiving, to the glory of God [περισσεύση εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ].” Suffering is the means that result in an increase⁵²² in thanksgiving and glory to God. We see here the same Pauline concept as in Romans 1:21, where giving thanks to God equals giving glory to God (οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἡὺχαρίστησαν). While the definition of sin is described as *not* giving glory or thanks to God, Christ as the *doxa* of God reverses the believer’s position through suffering to ascribe thanks and glory to God. The ultimate purpose of the glorification of Christ and believers in suffering is the vindication of the glory of God, namely his moral and aesthetic character. Moreover, Paul depicts the return to original humanity, namely to be able to give thanks and glory and be transformed into the consummated image of God through Christ.

To summarize, in 2 Corinthians 1-4 (especially 3-4) *doxa* is identified with three characters. First, Paul depicts the derived glory of God on the face of Moses as a past historical manifestation that parallels the creation-fall episode and links his readers to it as well (2 Cor 3:1-15). Paul’s polemical language highlights the superiority of his view to that of his opponents. Second, Paul depicts Christ as the intrinsic and derived *doxa* of God. Paul presents the glory of God in the face of Christ as the image of God as Gospel that is a present, greater, and permanent manifestation of God (2 Cor 3:16-4:6) that fulfills all the promises of God (2 Cor 1:20). The third character is the

⁵²² Norbert Baubert notes the similarity in structure regarding the increase in 2 Corinthians 3:9 and 4:15. Norbert Baubert, *Täglich Sterben Und Auferstehen: Der Literalsinn von 2 Kor 4, 12-5,10*, Studien Zum Alten Und Neuen Testament (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1973), 107.

Corinthian believers themselves when they share the *doxa* of Christ. Paul motivates Corinthians against their opponents⁵²³ in their present suffering situation by appealing to the future eschatological glory (2 Cor 3:18; 4:7-15; 16-). God's reflected glory is greater because of Christ and the inclusion of Gentiles. The glory revealed to Moses was inferior and temporary compared to more magnificent and permanent ministry of the Spirit of *doxa*. The final identity occurs in the middle of his discussion on suffering that is worthwhile; as is typical of Paul, he proclaims a doxology—the *ultimate* purpose of the entire movement is the vindication of the *doxa* of God.

4.5. The Vindication of the *Doxa* of God through Christ in Romans 5-8

As discussed above, God's essential glory is vindicated through the glory of Christ not only in the Corinthian correspondence but in Romans as well. Romans 5-8 form a somewhat unified pericope that includes a cohesive understanding of *doxa*. My purpose is to show how the lack of God's *doxa*, which was expressed as the foundational predicament and problem after Adam and Israel in Romans 1, is reversed through the character of the work of Christ. *Doxa* occurs in three distinct passages (Rom 5:1-2; 6:1-6; 8:17-30), four times altogether as the noun δόξα (5:2; 6:4; 8:18, 21) and twice as a verb (δοξάζω in 8:30 and συνδοξάζω in 8:17). I discuss these passages separately, yet deliberately link them together due to their close relationship with each other.

Adamic imagery and allusions to Israel play an essential role in the *doxa* motif in these passages. Paul's objective is to show how Christ functions as an anti-fallen superior Adam figure and faithful eschatological Servant whose suffering, death, and resurrection vindicates God's essential glory and reconciles and transforms God's image and derived glory in believing Jews and Gentiles. Not only is humanity transformed into God's derived glory, but also the entire creation that humanity was created to rule over, care for and to cultivate is renewed.

4.5.1. The Eschatological Hope of Reflecting the *Doxa* of God through the Christ-Event in Romans 5:1-2

Romans 5:1-2 provides a glimpse of Paul's *doxa* motif. This passage reveals two important aspects for my study:

Therefore, since we have been justified [δικαιωθέντες] by faith, we have peace with God our Lord Jesus Christ. Through him we have also obtained access by faith into this grace in which we stand, and we rejoice *in hope of the glory of God* [ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ]. (Rom 5:1-2)

⁵²³ For an overview discussion regarding Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians, see Jerry L. Sumney, "Studying Paul's Opponents: Advances and Challenges," in *Paul and His Opponents*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 14-17.

First, reflecting the glory of God means reversal of the idolatry described in Romans 1:23 and Romans 3:23. In these passages, Paul describes idolatry as the foundational reason for Jews and the nations not displaying God's image and glory. They lack the derived glory of God. Paul echoes both Israel's history and the Genesis account to show the same predicament being experienced by both Jews and Gentiles. The Christ-event, however, has reversed the case again. Justification guarantees the future vindication of God's glory and the transformation of believers' participation in God's glory. Christ's work on the cross reconciles people through faith in God and opens an access back to God by His grace. This is the restoration—indeed more than restoration—of God's displayed image and glory in Adam and Israel that was lost in the creation-fall narrative.⁵²⁴

The second important aspect for this study in Romans 5:1-2 is an often overlooked allusion to Isaiah 45:22-25.⁵²⁵ The passage that is quoted in Philippians 2:10-11 is echoed here as well. In this eschatological passage, the offspring of Israel shall be justified and glorified in God because of the Servant: "By the Lord shall they be justified [δικαιωθήσονται], and all the offspring of the sons of Israel shall be glorified [ἐνδοξασθήσονται] in God" (Is 45:25 LXX NETS).

Paul united justification and glorification, thus echoing the fulfillment of the Isaiah passage. He, however, portrays this messianic glorification as taking place in two parts. While the eschatology has been inaugurated already (justification), final consummation to reflect God's glory is still awaited.

4.5.2. The Vindication of the Father's *Doxa* through the Christ-Event Signaled through Baptism in Romans 6:1-6

Romans 6:1-6 forms another *doxa* passage (6:4), but commentators do not typically pay much attention to it from the *doxa* standpoint.⁵²⁶

What shall we say then? Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound? By no means! How can we who died to sin still live in it? Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead *by the glory of the Father* (διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς) we too might walk in newness of life. For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. We know that our old self was crucified with him in order that the body of sin might be brought to nothing, so that we would no longer be enslaved to sin. (Rom 6:1-6)

⁵²⁴ See also Colin G. Kruse, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 227-229. Kruse lists six nuanced aspects in relation to the glory that is in store for believers: the reward of a good life, the hope of glory, suffering and glory, resurrection glory, prepared beforehand glory, and present transformation to ever-increasing glory. See also Moo, *Romans*, 301-302; Dunn, *Romans*, 248; Schreiner, *Romans*, 255.

⁵²⁵ Indeed, no commentator seems to make this connection.

⁵²⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 367; Schreiner, *Romans*, 310.

There are, however, four revealed aspects of *doxa* found in this passage. First, God is depicted as the *doxa of the father*, describing his own character. While some take *doxa* to mean merely God's power, I consider that its nuance is more distinctive.⁵²⁷ It seems that Paul calls God the father, and the attributes of God manifested in the Exodus narrative provide a vital background here, as seen below.

Second, the vindication of the father's *doxa* takes place through the Christ-event, namely, his suffering, death, and resurrection.

Third, imagery from Jewish Scriptures, such as Adam,⁵²⁸ Israel, and the Exodus, prefigures God's vindication of his *doxa* in Romans 6. Marvin Pate names three pieces of evidence to warrant the Adamic imagery in this passage: (1) the context of this passage is surrounded on both sides by Adam passages (5:12-21 and 7:7-13); (2) the structure (οὕτως καὶ) points back to highlight the differences between Adam and Christ; and (3) three linguistic terms point back to Adamic imagery: δόξα, ὁμοίωμα, and παλαιός ἄνθρωπος.⁵²⁹ While the exact meaning of ὁμοίωμα here is debated, we see a certain overlap in the lexical domains between δόξα and ὁμοίωμα. Indeed ὁμοίωμα here can mean "form,"⁵³⁰ "corresponding reality," or "representation,"⁵³¹ referring to Christ's death and resurrection. Additionally, there is a lexical association with the Adam-type figure found in Ezekiel 1:28: "the likeness of the glory of the Lord" [ὁμοιώματος δόξης κυρίου]. This figure is not explicitly the glory of the Lord, but the *likeness* of him. The glory of the Lord is shared with him. Paul seems to identify Christ as this type of figure.

This passage not only contains possible references to Adam theology, it also draws from and parallels Israel's redemption story from Exodus. The baptism sign corresponds with the revelation and vindication of God's glory in the Exodus narrative *and* in the death and resurrection of

⁵²⁷ See Kittel, *TWNT* 2, 247; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 434; Cranfield, *Romans*, 304-405. Morris, *Romans*, 249 sees a more nuanced reading. Moreover, John Murray says, "It is possible that 'the glory' refers to the glory in which Christ was raised from the dead. But it is more in accord with usage to think of the glory as that through which Christ was raised. The Glory of God is the majesty of God, the sum of his perfections. If this meaning holds in this instance, then the Father's majesty or perfection in its fulness is conceived of as operative in the resurrection of Christ ... the Father's glory is manifest in the resurrection of his own Son." Murray, *Romans*, 216-217. Διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς is probably an epexegetical genitive.

⁵²⁸ Michael Neary, "Creation and Pauline Soteriology," *ITQ* 50 (1985), 10-16; A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection, Studies in Pauline Theology against Its Greco-Roman Background*, WUNT 44 (Tübingen: Siebeck Mohr, 1987), 342-359; Dunn, *Romans* 1-8, 315-324; Marvin Pate, *The Glory of Adam and the Afflictions of the Righteous: Pauline Suffering in Context* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993), 166-181.

⁵²⁹ Pate, *The Glory of Adam and the Afflictions of the Righteous*, 166-168.

⁵³⁰ Käsemann, *Romans*, 169; Dunn, *Romans* 1-8, 318; Edwards, *Romans*, 162; Moo, *Romans*, 371.

⁵³¹ Sorin Sabou, "A Note on Romans 6:5: The Representation (ὁμοίωμα) of His Death," *Tyndale Bulletin* 55 no 2 (2004): 219-229.

Christ.⁵³² Wright argues that for Paul, baptism is the “Jesus-shaped Exodus.”⁵³³ Moreover, and more particular to Romans 6:1-11, this passage explores the “slave/free” contrast. Thus, for Paul, Exodus functions as a pre-figure story of the revelation of God’s *doxa*, now personified in the death and resurrection of Jesus. The Christ-event is the God-given means to transfer from the slavery of sin to freedom in the presence of God. We saw in the background chapter how God’s presence and God’s glory were manifested in the Jewish Scriptures primarily through two salvation event accounts, the Exodus (Exod 14:17-18; 16:6-10; 24:16-17; 33:18-23; 40:34-35; Lev 9:6; Num 14:10, 21-22; 16:19; 16:42) and the return from Babylonian exile (Is 40:5-8): “I will be *glorified* [ἐνδοξασθήσομαι] in Pharaoh and in all his army and in his chariots and in his horses. And all the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, as I am being *glorified* [ἐνδοξαζομένου] in Pharaoh and in his chariots and his horses” (Exod 14:17-18 LXX NETS; cf. Exod 14:4). “At the evening you shall know that the Lord brought you out of the land of Egypt, and in the morning you shall see the *glory of the Lord* [δόξαν κυρίου]” (Exod 16:7 LXX NETS).

The identity, character, power, weightiness, namely, the essential *doxa* of God, are manifested in the Exodus event. Indeed, the Lord revealed himself to Moses as glory prior to the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod 14:4, 16-18), and His presence and glory were a part of the giving of the Decalogue (Exod 24). They highlighted the Lord’s sovereign gracious election of the Israelites over the Egyptians, his holy and divine presence, often manifested in judgment, and his beauty and presence. Romans 5-8 retells this story, now through the faithfulness of Christ.⁵³⁴ Now God’s glory is manifested in the Christ-event. The death of Christ is God’s judgment on idolatry, the lack of God’s glory in Adam and Israel (Rom 3:21-28). The baptism of Jesus and believers is, therefore, linked with the Exodus narrative here as well as in 1 Corinthians 10:1-2.⁵³⁵

The fourth distinctive aspect of the use of *doxa* in Romans 6 is Paul’s appeal to identify his audience *with* Christ, in whom the *doxa* of God is manifested. The morphing of believers into the likeness of the Christ is another pointed aspect of *doxa*. The union with Christ, in whose resurrection God’s glory is manifested, functions as the transforming aspect of turning away from sin (Rom 6:5). Moreover, the identification with Christ means identification with his suffering, death, and resurrection. Furthermore, while Paul started his letter to identify his Jewish and Gentile

⁵³² See also Tom Holland, *Romans: The Divine Marriage* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011), 184, and N. T. Wright, *Paul for Everyone: Romans Part 1: Chapters 1-8* (Louisville: Westminster, 2004), 99-100.

⁵³³ Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1333-1338; Wright, *Romans*, 98-101.

⁵³⁴ So argues at least Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*. See also Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology*.

⁵³⁵ See Karl-Gustav Sandelin, “Christ as the Nourishing Rock. 1 Cor 10, 1-13,” in *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development within Early Judaism and Its Impact on Early Christianity*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser A Humaniora Vol 64 nr 3 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1986), 161-172.

audience with the fallen Adam and idolatrous Israel, now his strategy is to invoke the identification move from the fallen Adam and Israel *to* Christ.

To recapitulate, in Romans 6:1-6 Paul states that the vindication of the Father's glory takes place through the Christ-event. The suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ correspond with Adam, now in reverse, and are modeled after the Exodus-event found in Jewish Scriptures. The result of the vindication of God's glory revealed in the Christ-event is the assimilation of believers with Christ.

4.5.3. The Vindication of God's *Doxa* in Romans 8:17-30 as an Eschatological Hope for the Entire Creation

Romans 8:17-30⁵³⁶ is connected to the eschatological hope of the transformation of God's derivative *doxa* in humanity and creation. *Doxa* occurs twice as a noun in Romans 8 (8:18, 21) and two times as a verb, δοξάζω in 8:30 and συνδοξάζω in 8:17. Paul has an eschatological transformation view of God's derivative *doxa* in relation to the entire creation, humanity functioning as the pinnacle patterned after the resurrected Christ's image, sonship, and *doxa*. Moreover, a salvation narrative (creation-fall-transformation) from Jewish Scriptures operates as Paul's background for the *doxa* motif.

First, in his discussion of the future glory for humanity, Paul links the eschatological transformation of God's derivative *doxa* in believers together with the hope of creation. Verses 19-22 describe the eschatological hope of κτίσις:

For I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not *worth comparing with the glory* [δόξα] that is to be revealed to us. For the creation [τῆς κτίσεως] waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation [ἡ κτίσις] was subjected to futility, not willingly, but because of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to corruption and obtain *the freedom of the glory* [τῆς δόξης] of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation [ἡ κτίσις] has been groaning together in the pains of childbirth until now (Rom 8:19-22).

The word κτίσις occurs twenty times in the New Testament and can either mean creation, a creature (2 Cor 5:17), or a created order (1 Cor 11:9). Over the centuries, there have been numerous

⁵³⁶ Romans 8 is a part of the larger Pauline soteriological argument starting from human depravity, including both Jews and Gentiles (1:18-3:20), showing how man is reconciled with God in justification (3:21-5:10), and describing how the Christian life operates (6:1-8:39). As the climax of this salvation, namely the creational restoration process, see Steven J. Kraftchick, "Paul's Use of Creation Themes: A Test of Romans 1-8," *ExAuditu* 3 (1987): 72-87. Paul talks in chapter 8 about the current situation of a believer in light of the future eschatological hope and reality. The structure of Romans 8:17-30 can be divided as follows: (1) The hope of believers (8:17-18); (2) The hope of future glory for the suffering creation (8:19-22); (3) The hope of future glory for a believer (8:22b-25); (4) Prayer in the light of future glory (8:26-27); (5) The assurance of future glory (8:29-30); (6) The hope of future glory despite current sufferings (8:31-39).

suggestions about what κτίσις contains here in Romans 8. Harry Hahne mentions five and C. B. E. Cranfield provides eight different ways that κτίσις has been understood.⁵³⁷ It is highly unlikely that Paul talks about believers regarding κτίσις here because it is specifically distinguished and differentiated from the children and sons of God (τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ and τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ) in verses 19b, 21, 23.⁵³⁸ Thus, some have suggested that Paul's references here are about non-believing humans: Ernst Käsemann is convinced that "there can be no doubt that non-Christians are included,"⁵³⁹ and Manson finds it problematic "how the material world can obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God."⁵⁴⁰ Despite these suggestions, however, κτίσις is an unlikely reference regarding any humans, believers or unbelievers.⁵⁴¹ Rather, κτίσις seems to refer to the whole of nonhuman and sub-personal creation, distinct from humans, yet in a personified manner⁵⁴² including past, present, and future animate and inanimate creation.⁵⁴³ Thus, Paul depicts the restoration of the entire creation⁵⁴⁴ as an outcome of the vindication of God's glory.⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁷ Harry A. Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.9-22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, LNTS 336 (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 176-181; Cranfield, *Romans*, I, 411-412.

⁵³⁸ Κτίσις seems to refer solely to subhuman parts; this usage is also in Wisdom of Solomon 2:6; 5:17?; 16:24; 19:6.

⁵³⁹ Käsemann, *Romans*, 233.

⁵⁴⁰ T. W. Manson, "Romans," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Taylor & Francis, 1980), 946. The Syrian version translated κτίσις as "gentiles."

⁵⁴¹ See also John Duncan, "The Hope of Creation: The Significance of ἐφ' ἐλπίδι (Rom 8:20c) in Context," *NTS*, vol 61, no 3 (July 2015): 413-4.

⁵⁴² See Cranfield, *Romans*, I, 411-412; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 469; Moo, *Romans*, 514, 551; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 506; Schreiner, *Romans*, 434-434; Paul's understanding of creation being part of the eschatological glorification is also found in 4 Ezra 7.

⁵⁴³ See, for example, R. Jewett, "The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Reading Rom. 8:18-23 within the Imperial Context," in *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order*, ed. R. A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 2004), 25-46.

⁵⁴⁴ Sometimes, especially in modern biblical scholarship that has engaged in contemporary issues, this text has been used as "an environmental mantra" to promote responsible ecological living. See Cheryl Hunt, David G. Horrell, and Christopher Southgate, "An Environmental Mantra? Ecological Interest in Romans 8:9-13 and a Modest Proposal for Its Narrative Interpretation," *JTS* 59 (2008): 546-579; Cheryl Hunt, David G. Horrell, and Christopher Southgate, *Greening Paul: Rereading the Apostle in a Time of Ecological Crisis* (Waco: Baylor University, 2010). In this book, the authors examine the ecological restoration motif, especially in light of Romans 8:19-23 and Colossians 1:15-20. See also Jonathan Moo, "Romans 8.19-22 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant," *NTS* 54 (2008): 74-89; Laurie J. Braaten, "All Creation Groans: Romans 8:22 in Light of the Biblical Sources," *HBT* 28 (2006): 131-59; Brendan Byrne, "An Ecological Reading of Rom. 8:19-22: Possibilities and Hesitations," in *Ecological Hermeneutics: Biblical, Historical and Theological Perspectives*, ed. David G. Horrell et al., (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 83-93. Cf. J. J. Johnson Leese, "Christ as Creator: Implications for Ecotheological Readings of Paul," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters*, vol 4, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 111-127. However, nowhere does Paul give humanity an imperative to advance the redemption of the earth. Rather, Paul's description is explicit and stated in a form of indicative statement. There is a three-way paradigm between God, humanity, and creation later in this passage (8:25-23), where the resurrection of Christ functions as the climactic, decisive, and redemptive event. It inaugurates the sin-reversing glorification of creation and humanity. John Bolt also argues convincingly against the "ecological mantra" reading of Romans 8. John Bolt, "The Relation Between Creation and Redemption in Romans 8:18-27," *CTJ* 30 no 1 (April 1995): 34-51.

⁵⁴⁵ See also Edward Adams, "Paul's Story of God and Creation: The Story of How God Fulfills His Purposes in Creation," in *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment*, 18-43.

Second, despite the fact that Paul makes a strong case for the hope of creation in verses 19-22,⁵⁴⁶ the eschatological hope of the transformation of the believers in the midst of suffering into the likeness of the resurrected Christ's *doxa* is the main motif in Romans 8. Creation is dependent on and contingent upon the redemption of the derived *doxa* of the sons of God (εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ). Thus, the eschatological hope of creation is the participation of the *doxa* of the sons of God.⁵⁴⁷ Indeed, Paul depicts the children of God as the partakers of the resurrected Christ's future *doxa* through suffering in three different verses:

Provided we suffer with him [Christ] in order that we may also be glorified [συνδοξασθῶμεν] with him. (Rom 8:17; cf. Rom 6:5)

I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory [δόξαν] that is to be revealed to us. (Rom 8:18)

We know that for those who love God all things work together for good, for those who are called according to his purpose ... those whom he predestined he also called, and those whom he called he also justified, and those whom he justified he also glorified [ἐδόξασεν]. (Rom 8:28, 30)

For Paul, Jesus's resurrection functions as a hermeneutical key for the anticipated and confirmed eschatological hope of believers' participation in and transformation into the image and *doxa* of Christ. Daniel Kirk contends that the resurrection of Christ is the key for unlocking Paul's argumentation and hermeneutics in his entire letter to the Romans.⁵⁴⁸

The resurrection of Christ, namely Christ's glorification, guarantees the transformation of believers into the same image and *doxa* as that of Christ (Rom 8:29-30; cf. 1 Cor 15:20).⁵⁴⁹ This metamorphic change will be consummated in glorification. Here believers are preappointed (προώρισεν) to receive the same form (συμμόρφους) of the image (εἰκόνας) of God's son (υἱοῦ) so that He (the son) would be the firstborn among many brothers.⁵⁵⁰ Indeed, Paul starts the letter (1:4) with a famous confession: Jesus Christ was set apart/appointed (τοῦ ὀρισθέντος) to be the son (υἱοῦ) of God; by his resurrection Christ is the first representative of new humanity to operate as the ruler of creation.⁵⁵¹ His resurrection functions as the foundation for the rest of the believing

⁵⁴⁶ Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*.

⁵⁴⁷ For a detailed discussion on the nature of the ἐφ' ἐλπίδι, see John Duncan, "The Hope of Creation: The Significance of ἐφ' ἐλπίδι (Rom 8:20c) in Context," *NTS*, vol 61, no 3 (July 2015): 411-427.

⁵⁴⁸ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*.

⁵⁴⁹ Kirk states, "The restoration of creation begins with the resurrection of Christ. In this he is the second Adam, determining the future of creation and of the humanity which God sets over it." *Ibid.*, 142.

⁵⁵⁰ See an apparent similarity with Colossians 1:15: "ὅς (the son) ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως."

⁵⁵¹ See also Timo Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Christian Exaltation Discourse*, WUNT 142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2001).

humanity to be resurrected. As Jesus is declared the Son of God, so will believers be confirmed the sons of God in the resurrection of the dead. In Pauline thought, humankind was created to be God's image and glory (chapter 3), but these features are fractured now as the consequence of the fall (Rom 1:21-28; 3:23). The resurrection of Christ, the last Adam, is the foundation of the redemption and transformation of humanity. Redeemed humanity is declared as the sons of God, conformed to the image of His son, and will receive a glorified status together with the resurrected Christ.⁵⁵²

Paul depicts suffering as a necessary pathway to transformation into the *doxa* of Christ. A well-attested Pauline tension (cf. 1 Tess 4:13-18, 5:10, Gal 2:19-20; Phil 3:4-11, 20-21; 2 Cor 4:7-14; 6:1-10; 7:3; 13:3-4) between "already but not yet" is apparent in the *doxa* terminology in Romans 8:18-30.⁵⁵³ On the one hand, the freedom of the *doxa* is still to be revealed (8:18, 21), awaited, and participated in together with Christ (8:17), yet it is already inaugurated⁵⁵⁴ and guaranteed (8:30), as the aorist tense describes (ἐδόξασεν). Christ already enjoys his glorious status fully as the firstborn of many, yet his brothers will be brought to this reality in eschatological time. Similarly "all who walk according to the Spirit" are already sons of God (υἱοὶ θεοῦ in 8:14, τέκνα θεοῦ in 8:26, 17), yet they are still "waiting eagerly for the adoption of sons" (υἱοθεσίαν in 8:24). Also, the possession of the Spirit as the first fruits functions as the "already" part of the presence of God. This presence will not, however, be consummated until the full redemption of bodies in the future (8:24). God's children, who are also the recipients of the heritage of God and the co-recipient of Christ, will be glorified (συνδοξασθῶμεν) together with Christ in the future (8:17). While the suffering of believers is as certain as the anguish of Christ, Christ's resurrection provides the guarantee of the final glorification.

Finally, the creation-fall-salvation motif from the Jewish Scriptures functions as Paul's background for the eschatological consummation of *doxa*. Paul combines sonship, image, and *doxa* language from Jewish texts that relate to the history of Adam and of Israel.

Romans 8:20 is Paul's commentary on Genesis 3:17-18, the fall narrative. Even though Paul does not quote the Genesis text, there is an allusion to the storyline. As humankind fell into sin, the land/creation was consequently cursed. Now the restoration of humanity requires a reversal of creation as well. Paul is using the fall story as the basis for the need for reversal. Indeed, the

⁵⁵² Victor Copan argues that Paul's predestination language needs to be read in light of the restoration motif for Jews and Gentiles alike. According to Copan, the focus of the texts prevents us from understanding the passages as referring to the predestination of certain individuals to salvation. Victor Copan, "Creational Allusions in Romans 8:18-27 and Their Interpretative Significance for Understanding Predestination Language in 8:23-33," *CriswellTheolRev* 12 (2015): 23-45.

⁵⁵³ See Siu Fung Wu, "Suffering in Romans: An Audience Focused Reading" (PhD diss., University of Divinity, 2013).

⁵⁵⁴ Dane Ortlund, "Inaugurated Glorification: Revisiting Romans 8:30," *JETS* 57/1 (2014): 111-33.

eager and anticipatory waiting (ἀποκαραδοκία) for the revealing of the sons of God is *because* (γάρ) creation (κτίσις) was subjected, forcefully, yet in hope, to futility. Creation was subjected, not willingly, but by someone who subjected it. Because the text does not directly mention the subject of “subjected” (ὑποτάσσω), three different options have been suggested. First, some think that Paul is referring to Satan. Second, Paul could be referring to Adam. If Paul has the Genesis account in mind, then it is Adam’s sin that is the direct cause for the futility and corruption of creation. Adam’s fall had cosmic results, and the responsibility lies with him. The third, option, however, is more likely; Paul thinks that God subjected creation to futility *because* of human sin.⁵⁵⁵ The frustration and corruption refer to the inability of creation to do what it was created to perform under the care of humanity.⁵⁵⁶ This is Paul’s interpretation of the Genesis 3 consequences for all the earth.

Not only the probable allusion to Genesis 3 in relation to the subjection of creation, but as my background study revealed, the anticipation of the restoration of the earth and creation as the manifestation of the *doxa* of God is also found in the Jewish Scriptures and in the Second Temple literature. Paul’s thought in Romans 8 is in line with this hopeful (ἐφ’ ἐλπίδι in 8:20) expectation. Jewish thought expressed in the Scriptures indeed anticipates the vindication of the *doxa* of God in the renewed land/earth and creation. Already found in Numbers 14:21 is the anticipation of God’s glory manifested on earth: “the glory of Lord will fill all the earth” (ἐμπλήσει ἡ δόξα κυρίου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν; Numb 14:21 LXX). More so, there is an increasingly cosmic hope in the psalms, where the glory of God is revealed in every dimension and area of the universe. “The heavens declare the *doxa* of God” (Ps 18:1 LXX) and creation evidences the sustaining nature of His *doxa* (Ps 104:31-32). His *doxa* dwells over all the earth: “Let your glory be over all the earth [ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου]” (Ps 56:6,12; 107:6 LXX); Blessed be his name of glory [τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ], may the whole earth be filled with his glory [πληρωθῇσεται τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ γένοιτο] (Ps 71:19 LXX). The equivalent anticipation can be seen in the books of Isaiah (Is 4:2-6; 6:3; 11:10; 24:23; 35:2; 40:5; 43:4; 45: 25; 55:5; 58:8; 60:1; 61:6-8; 66:11, 18-19) and of Habakkuk. Not only Israel and Jerusalem but “every valley” and “every mountain” shall be embraced and “all flesh” shall see the *doxa* of the Lord (Is 40:1-5). Moreover, after the judgment on earth (Is 24:1-13; cf. Zeph 1:2-

⁵⁵⁵ Most commentators agree. See, for example, Moo, *Romans*, 515-516.

⁵⁵⁶ It is also possible that Paul’s language concerning the current state of the creation echoes some of the texts found in the prophets, where the land or the earth (*‘eretz*) is mourning (Jer 4:28 [in LXX πενθεῖτω ἡ γῆ]; 12:4 [πενθήσει ἡ γῆ]; Hos 4:3 [πενθήσει ἡ γῆ]; Joel 1:10 [πενθεῖτω ἡ γῆ]). Richard Bauckham makes the same suggestion. Richard Bauckham, “The Story of Earth according to Paul: Romans 8:18-23,” *Review & Expositor*, 108 no 1 (Wint 2011): 91-9.

3), the restoration of the ends of the earth results in giving *doxa* to the God of Israel (Is 24:14-16; 59:19). Seeing the *doxa* of God includes all nations and tongues from places such as Tarshish (modern-day Spain), Pul (modern-day Libya), Lud (Ancient Lydia), Tubal, and Javan (Greece; Is 66:18-19). Indeed, “the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord [πλησθήσεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν δόξαν κυρίου]; as the waters cover the sea (Hab 2:14-16). This eschatological prediction of the glory of the Lord spread everywhere covers Jerusalem, the nations, and all the earth and is linked with the end-time temple (Ezek 40-48).

It seems that Paul draws sonship and image terminology from the Genesis text⁵⁵⁷ to connect with future glorification. Paul’s language in Romans 8:29 is not incidental. As I have argued earlier (3.1. and 4.4.3), εἰκών and δόξα sometimes function almost synonymously, and such is the case here as well (cf. Rom 8:29).

Besides the Genesis account, as Keesmaat⁵⁵⁸ and Kirk correctly argue, Israel’s story also functions as a background to Paul choosing sonship language in light of the Adam story. This is because the Jewish Scriptures themselves, especially the Pentateuch, look back and interpret the Adam story as a background for the rest of Jewish history. Kirk gives the following contact points within this Israel narrative in relation to Romans 8: (1) The suffering and the death of the son(s) of God as typified in Isaac’s narrative relate to the suffering and death of Christ; (2) The promised blessing of Abraham’s seed points to the Son of God as the firstborn of many brothers (8:29); (3) The Promised Land is the inheritance of Abraham; this Promised Land has, however, changed into the entire cosmos (κόσμος) in Romans 4:13 and to the redemption of all creation in Romans 8:21 (κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται); 4) In the Exodus narrative, the promised son of Abraham, Israel, is God’s firstborn son (υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραὴλ; LXX Exod 4:22-23). Exodus is a narrative link between the Adam-garden story and the “super-restoration” of Adam and creation found in Romans 8;⁵⁵⁹ 5) The sonship language introduced in the Adam story, developed in Abrahamic and Exodus stories, is also found in the reflection of Davidic kingship. 2 Samuel 7:14 and Psalm 2 are particularly talking about King’s son and land as a reflection of Adam and Abraham; 6) Many texts during Second Temple Judaism explicitly talk of Israel as God’s son.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, it seems quite warranted to say that the eschatological hope of glorification in Paul’s mind is tightly related to the

⁵⁵⁷ See also Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 142.

⁵⁵⁸ Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story: (Re)interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, 54-154.

⁵⁵⁹ See especially Wright, *Theology of Paul*, 54-56 and Wright, *Romans*, 550 and Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story: (Re)interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, 61.

⁵⁶⁰ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 143-149.

restoration and recreation⁵⁶¹ of the land given to Adam and Israel. Moreover, the resurrected Christ as the *doxa* of God functions as Adam and Israel. Jesus's suffering and resurrection, which lead to his status as the Son and the image of God, are the revelatory events that give him authority to rule over creation.

Not only the Jewish thought recorded in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint, but also the Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic tradition consists of many similar kinds of eschatological hopes as expressed in Romans 8:19-22. In my background chapter, I mentioned several works from the Second Temple literature that correspond with Pauline thought found in Romans 8. I explored the Adam motif in later Jewish literature depicting both the creational Adam glory motif and the anticipated transformation into greater eschatological glory. Furthermore, Hahne convincingly shows the parallelism between the restoration of the Adamic motif found in apocalyptic Jewish literature and Romans 8:19-22.⁵⁶² Paul is using traditional apocalyptic images and reinterpreting them for his own purposes. Current suffering and future glory are also linked together in at least the following places: Daniel 7:17-27, Wisdom 2-5, and 2 Maccabees 7. Moreover, the book of 1 Enoch from the post-Maccabean era (especially chapters 102-105) has a vivid description of the eschatological hope of Yahweh's derivative glory shared among righteous people and with his son. Also, at least two Qumran texts from the Dead Sea scrolls from the period of Second Temple Judaism indicate a noticeable similarity between the original state of Adam in glory and the eschatological hope of the transformation of the faithful ones to this glory.

To summarize, Romans 8:18-30 is another passage that talks about the eschatological transformation of God's derivative *doxa*. While Paul includes the entire creation as the arena of restoration, believing humanity, Jews and Gentiles alike, functions as the pinnacle of the transformation. They are patterned after the resurrected Christ, who is identified as the image, son, and *doxa* of God. The main motif of Romans 8 is that the transformation and restoration of the entire creation takes place through suffering, again after the model of Christ. Finally, the creation-fall-transformation narrative from Jewish Scriptures functions as Paul's background for the *doxa* motif.

⁵⁶¹ See Ben C. Blackwell, "The Greek Life of Adam and Eve and Romans 8:14-39: (Re)creation and Glory," in *Reading Romans in Context*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015), 108-114.

⁵⁶² Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*.

4.6. The Vindication of God's *Doxa* through Christ in Romans 9

While some have suggested that Romans 9-11 is an out of place afterthought by Paul⁵⁶³ or that it is full of “inconsistent reasoning,”⁵⁶⁴ its place makes it an integral part of the argumentation for Paul’s defense of the Gospel in light of salvation history.⁵⁶⁵ Romans 9 is part of a larger literary structure (chapters 9-11 and 1-11), forming a single literary unit in Paul’s line of reasoning to answer one fundamental question: has God failed to keep his promises to Israel? The unequivocal answer in Paul’s argumentation is, “No.” For my purposes, Romans 9 also answers another question: despite Israel’s unbelief, *how is the glory of God being vindicated?*

Paul uses *doxa* three times in Romans 9 (Rom 9:4, 23 [x2]). In Romans 9:4 Paul describes *doxa* as something that had been the Israelites’ privilege in the past; namely, they were the recipients of the revelation of God’s *doxa*. Israel received God’s blessings, including their adoption, the *doxa*, the covenants, the law, the sacrifices, and the promises. In Romans 9, this revelation of God regarding *doxa* has four distinguishable characters: God, Israel, Christ, and the eschatological believers in Christ, Jews and Gentiles alike.

I am speaking the truth in Christ—I am not lying; my conscience bears me witness in the Holy Spirit—that I have great sorrow and unceasing anguish in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my kinsmen according to the flesh. They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, *the glory* [ἡ δόξα], the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises. To them belong the patriarchs, and from their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen. (Rom 9:1-6)

What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power, has endured with much patience vessels of wrath prepared for destruction, *in order to make known the riches of his glory* [τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ] for vessels of mercy, which he has *prepared beforehand for glory* [εἰς δόξαν]. (Rom 9:22-23)

⁵⁶³ See, for example, R. Scroggs, “Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1-9,” in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of W.D. Davies*, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 271-298. F. Refoule even goes so far as to suggest that a disciple of Paul interpolated chapters 9-11 later. F. Refoule, “Unit de l’Épître aux Romains et histoire du salut,” *RSPT* 71 (1987): 219-242.

⁵⁶⁴ Heikki Räisänen considers Roman 9-11 to be “inconsistent reasoning.” Heikki Räisänen, “Torn between Two Loyalties: Romans 9-11 and Paul’s Conflicting Convictions,” in *Nordic Paul*, 19-39.

⁵⁶⁵ See also Karl P. Donfried, “Introduction 1991: The Romans Debate since 1977,” in *The Romans Debate*, rev. and exp. edition, ed. Karl P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), lxx. See also Moo, *Romans*, 551.

First, for Paul, ἡ δόξα⁵⁶⁶ is God's past and future *theophanic* revelation of his own identity and character.⁵⁶⁷ As seen in the background chapter, the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint deliberately shaped Paul's understanding of *doxa*. Here Paul probably alludes to the Exodus narrative theophanies found in places such as Exodus 16:6-10; 24:16-17; 33:18-23; 40: 34-35; Leviticus 9:6; Numbers 14:10, 21-22; 16:19, 42; 20:6; and Deuteronomy 5:24, but is not necessarily limited to them (as discussed in chapter 2).

Table 4.7. The Pauline *Doxa* References to God

<i>Doxa</i> in reference to God	Pauline reference
God as the object of receiving <i>doxa</i>	Rom 1:21; 4:10; 15:6, 8; Phil 1:11; 2:11; 4:20; 1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 1:20; 9:13; Gal 1:5, 24
Doxologies to God	Rom 11:36; 16:25-27; Gal 1:5; Phil 4:20
God the object of thanksgiving and <i>doxa</i>	Rom 1:21
The <i>doxa</i> of God	Rom 5:2; 15:7; 2 Cor 4:4, 15; Phil 1:11
The <i>doxa</i> of the Lord	2 Cor 3:18; 8:19
The Lord of <i>doxa</i>	1 Cor 2:8
His <i>doxa</i>	Rom 9:23; 2 Cor 1:20
The <i>doxa</i> of God the Father	Rom 2:11
His kingdom and <i>doxa</i>	1 Thess 2:12
The <i>doxa</i> of the Father	Rom 6:4
The <i>doxa</i> of immortal God	Rom 1:23
<i>Doxa</i> – God's sovereignty	Rom 9:23
<i>Doxa</i> – God's truth	Rom 1:23
<i>Doxa</i> – God's wisdom in salvation history	Rom 16:27
Humanity's eschatological hope: the <i>doxa</i> of God	Rom 5:2

For Paul, God's glory is attached to various attributes of God: His lordship, kingdom, fatherhood, immortality, sovereignty, truth, wisdom in salvation history and believers' participation in Him. Additionally, God is the object of glorifying and thanksgiving (Table 4.7.). The glory of God almost always appears in relation to the eschatological *vindication of God's glory through Christ*. In other words, Paul does not merely present the glory of God in isolation, but in light of the eschatological vindication of his own character. In Romans 9:22-23 Paul highlights the

⁵⁶⁶ The use of the definite article ἡ is unusual here. Paul may have intentionally referred to *that* identifiable glory mentioned in 8:18,19, or he may have added the article for stylistic purposes. According to Jewett, the use of the article ἡ with δόξα is Paul's rhetorical way of saying that "the glory revealed in believers is part of Israel's glory." See Jewett, *Romans*, 563; Cf. James Dunn, *Romans 9-16* WBC 38b (Dallas: Word, 1988), 526 and Moo, *Romans*, 563.

⁵⁶⁷ See also C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 6th ed. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1975), 464; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 526; Schreiner, *Romans*, 484; Moo, *Romans*, 563; and Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of The Old Testament in Romans 9.1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*, LNTS 301 (Tübingen: T & T Clark, 2005).

nature of God's essential intrinsic glory by showing the extension of his theophany to the nations and by indicating the sovereignty of God's mercy. The relationship of verses 9:22-23 to the verses that precede them (9:5-21) and those that follow (9:24-29) reveal that the extension, not the limitation, of God's manifested presence, namely *doxa*, to the nations seems to highlight Paul's argumentation here. In regard to the fundamental question addressed in Romans 9 as to whether God's word and promises have failed (Rom 9:5-6), Paul's point is to convince his readers with a resounding "No!" Not all ethnic Israelites had ever been true Israelites (Rom 9:6-23); the election of Isaac not Ishmael and the choice of Jacob not Esau are examples of that. Moreover, the narrative of Moses (relating to a god-type figure Pharaoh) functions as an illustration of God's sovereign mercy by which He keeps His covenants and promises, and it also makes known the character of God's name, namely His total freedom in salvation and His purpose to glorify His own name. Also, the passage that follows (Rom 9:23-29) highlights how not merely the ethnic Israelites, but now also the nations (ἔθνη) can become God's children. Of course, this has been a foundational part of Paul's message since the beginning of the letter (Rom 1:5, 13, 16). Even the nations can be brought to a salvific relationship with the God of the Israelites through the Christ-event (Rom 3:21-28). The expansion, not limitation, of God's manifested presence, namely *doxa*, to all the nations seems to underscore Paul's rationale here. Even though the syntax of this passage is notably difficult and awkward,⁵⁶⁸ it seems that the ultimate purpose of God in showing his sovereign and righteous

⁵⁶⁸ One issue concerns the if-clause, though not everyone agrees (see e.g. Staehlin, *TDNT*, V, 426). Some commentators consider verse 23 functions as a then-clause, others see verses 22-23 as protasis and verse 24 as the logical apodosis (e.g. Jewett, *Romans*, 595); many recent commentators consider that the if-clause does not have apodosis (e.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, II, 492-98; Piper, *The Justification of God*, 205-6; Moo, *Romans*, 604). In other words, Paul invites readers to complete the sentence with the same conclusion as found in verses 20-21: "Are you talking back to God to question his purposes?" Another grammatical issue is the adverbial participle θέλων. In this verse it functions as a subordinate to the main verb ἤνεγκεν. Some commentators read it concessively, rendering it "although God willed" (e.g. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 569; Matthew Black, *Romans*, 2nd ed., NCBC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 132.) or purposefully ("God is willing for this purpose"; e.g. Jewett, *Romans*, 595). It is probably, however, a causal participle that should be rendered "because God is willing" (e.g. C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Black's New Testament Commentary (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 176-177; Cranfield, *Romans*, II, 494; Dunn, *Romans*, 558; Piper, *The Justification of God*, 207; Moo, *Romans*, 604-605; Schneider, *Romans*, 519-520). The final issue is the relationship of verse 23, which starts with καὶ ἵνα, to the previous verse. There are at least three possibilities how ἵνα γνωρίσῃ relates to the previous thought. It could refer to the main verb ἤνεγκεν and be translated "God endured with much patience the vessels of wrath in order to make known the riches of his glory." This interpretation is possible, especially if one reads the clause without the καὶ that is missing in some manuscripts (B 326 436 1739 it^b vg cop^{bo} goth arm. See Bruce Metzger and United Bible Societies, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, Second Edition, a Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament*, 4th rev. ed. [New York: UBS, 1994], 462.). It could also refer to the participle κατηρτισμένα, allowing for the translation "prepared for his destruction in order to make known the riches of his glory." Moreover, it could be seen as the third equivalent to the previous two infinitives: "willing to show wrath, make known his power and to make known the riches of his glory" (Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, PNTC [Eerdmans: IVP, 1988], 368.). Though all these options are possible, it seems that the third reading where καὶ coordinates the third purpose with the previous two infinitives (ἐνδείξασθαι and γνωρίσαι) of purpose is the most natural reading (e.g. Piper, *The Justification of God*, 188-189; Cranfield, *Romans* II, 496. Jewett states correctly, "the parallelism between v. 23 and v. 22 is carefully contrived, despite the syntactical confusion."

anger towards the vessels of wrath and making known his power is to underscore the revelation of the riches of his *doxa* towards the vessels of mercy. The ultimate reason is not to show contrast but to heighten the knowledge of God's *doxa* towards those to whom he is merciful.⁵⁶⁹ Indeed, for Paul the fundamental definition of God's rich glory (πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ)⁵⁷⁰ is God's essential character. This identity of God is revealed in his sovereign wrath and mercy.⁵⁷¹

The depiction of the character of God's glory in wrath and mercy in Romans 9 is grounded in Exodus references. The Golden Calf episode forms a vital background for Paul in Romans 9:3 (just like in Romans 1:18-32 and 2 Corinthians 3-4 *doxa* passages) for his language resembles Exodus 32:30-32. Both Paul and Moses wish to be abandoned from fellowship with God (accursed, cut off from Christ, and blotted out of the book of life). This similarity gives an indication that ἡ δόξα in Romans 9:4 evokes the *doxa* language found in Exodus 32-34.

The quotation from Exodus 33:19 in Romans 9:15 underscores the sovereign grace as a pivotal feature of the character of God's intrinsic glory ("For he says to Moses, 'I will have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I have compassion'"). As expounded in the background chapter, in Exodus 33:18-23 the Lord's glory is depicted in three nuances: His moral and aesthetic goodness and beauty, the proclamation of His name, and His sovereign grace and mercy without any independent outside subject or influence.

Jewett, *Romans*, 597). In this reading καὶ is seen as naturally functioning in a coordinating sense, and ἵνα highlights the pinnacle of the three-fold purposes (Schreiner comes to the same conclusion even though he sees ἵνα as relating to the main verb ἤνεγκεν: Schreiner, *Romans*, 522-523. Cf. Dunn, *Romans*, 560). Furthermore, Piper considers the third purpose as the ultimate one, with the first two purposes being subordinates to the third one (Piper, *The Justification of God*, 214-216).

⁵⁶⁹ Recently, Joseph Hoover has critiqued this reading and offered an alternative view. Hoover seeks to show that to read ἵνα γνωρίσῃ as the third parallel purpose as dependent on θέλων is erroneous. In his view, this understanding is grammatically and semantically wrong. He argues that not only the awkward grammar makes it an unlikely reading, but also the semantic understanding of glory prevents that reading. Hoover's main arguments against this reading come from the preceding verse: "Readers of Romans were meant to compare and *contrast* [emphasis original] the case of Pharaoh with the vessels of wrath." In other words, he considers Pharaoh's case as an exception, not a pattern, of how God deals with people, so "God's relation to Pharaoh (and a potter's relation to his pots) is significantly different from his relation to the vessels of wrath." Rather, Hoover sees a "perfect conceptual match of Romans 9:22-23 with Romans 3:21-26," and this understanding demands a clause indicating contra-expectation. Moreover, according to Hoover, God's glory is not one of God's attributes among wrath and power, but it is the fullness of his character. Joseph Hoover, "The Wealth of God's Glory: A Response to John Piper's 'Four Problems in Romans 9:22-23,'" *Stone-Campbell Journal* 12 (Spring, 2009), 48. I concur with Hoover that God's glory here depicts the fullness of his character. This agreement does not mean, however, that his objections are otherwise convincing. The flow of the structure does not make Pharaoh an exception, but rather an illustration of God's sovereignty over man's choice.

⁵⁷⁰ One could translate the phrase as "His glorious riches," where δόξα functions adjectivally. I concur with Newman and Nida that it should be translated "His rich glory" because "the abstract noun should be interpreted as a qualifier of the noun which appears in the genitive." In other words, God's *doxa* is rich. See Barclay M. Newman and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: UBS, 1973), 189.

⁵⁷¹ "God's chief end in creation and redemption is to display for the benefit of his elect the fullness of his glory, especially his mercy." Piper, *The Justification of God*, 214.

Romans 9:22 is an intentional reiteration of Romans 9:17: Paul deliberately uses even a lexical correspondence to show this resemblance (ἐνδείκνυμι, δύναμις/δυνατός), where Paul quotes Exodus 9:16 (“For the Scripture says to Pharaoh, ‘For this very purpose I have raised you up, that I might show my power in you, and that my name might be proclaimed in all the earth.’”)⁵⁷² and refers to Exodus 14:4, 16-18. In Exodus 14 the Lord is glorified over Pharaoh (ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐν Φαραώ) as He exhibits his superiority by releasing His people. The superiority of the Lord in the destruction of Pharaoh serves the mercy shown to the Israelites. Moreover, God seems to be the agent of preparation (κατηρτισμένα) upon the vessels of wrath (being prepared ‘by God’ if the word is translated as passive, rather than as a middle participle). Therefore, the destruction of the vessels of wrath highlights the glory of God.

Here we see clearly the continuity of the Exodus glory-theology in Pauline thought.⁵⁷³ Paradoxically, in order to highlight God’s absolute sovereignty,⁵⁷⁴ Paul describes some of the ethnic Israelites to be found in the same position with Pharaoh, namely subject to God’s destruction. At the same time, salvation is extended to the believing nations. Paul causes both his Jewish and ethnic audience to rethink their view of God. His sovereignty remains the same.⁵⁷⁵ His character manifested in glory remains the same. But the role of the vessels and recipients of wrath and mercy are rethought.⁵⁷⁶

Second, in Romans 9:4 *doxa* refers not only to God’s essential character and presence, but also to *Israel’s* historical role to display God’s derivative glory. Paul’s emphasis on Israel’s past privileges, including her responsibility to represent God’s derivative glory in *eschaton* among the nations, was explored in chapter 2 (e.g. Is 4:2; 42:8; 43:6-7; 48:10-11; 49:3; 52:13; 59:19-20; 148:9 LXX; Mic 1:15; Jer 13:18). For Paul, Israel was created to represent God’s derived glory.

⁵⁷² Ibid., 179-180; Schreiner, *Romans*, 520; Moo, *Romans*, 606.

⁵⁷³ For more on Exodus theology in Paul, see Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology* (Fearn, Scotland: Mentor, 2004). Also, God’s patience seems to display God’s greater wrath and power rather than being a call to repentance as found in 4 Ezra 7:70-74; 1 Macc 8:1-4; and 2 Macc 6:12-14 (cf. Wis 15; 1 QH 15:14-20; Pss. Sol. 13).

⁵⁷⁴ One of the exegetical and theological tensions found in Romans 9 is whether the vessels of wrath are destined to destruction and the vessels of mercy prepared beforehand *into glory* defined by their ethnic background, by their faith in Christ, or by God’s sovereign choice. In other words, has God merely decreed faith in Christ as the ultimate determining factor or does God’s sovereign choice decree certain people to salvation.

⁵⁷⁵ Daniel Fuller comments suitably on Paul’s logic: “When these rhetorical questions are restated decoratively, they assert that it is perfectly fitting for God to work with His creation so that it will externalize all aspects of His glory: On the one hand, his glory, His wrath and power; on the other hand, His mercy. But He has a greater purpose than simply to show the full range of His glory, for He would not be showing Himself as He really is if He set forth his wrath and power as coordinate and equal to his love and mercy. God delights far more in His mercy than in His wrath. So in order to show the priority of His mercy, He must place it against the backdrop of wrath.” Daniel Fuller, *The Unity of the Bible: Unfolding God’s Plan for Humanity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 445-448.

⁵⁷⁶ The eschatological hope of God’s people that is prepared beforehand (προετοιμάζω) echoes Romans 8:29-30 where glorification is the final destiny of God’s elect (cf. Eph 2:10; Wis 9:8). See a similarity in Sirach 49:19, “prepared for eternal glory.” Cf. c4 QDibHam 1-2 iii 4-6; 1 QS 4:7.

As the third distinctive use of *doxa*, Paul considers the fulfillment of the eschatological vindication of God's *doxa* to be found in Christ. Paul argues that all six of the past Israelite privileges find their fulfillment in Christ.⁵⁷⁷ This list is followed by a doxological shout of praise (Rom 9:5), where Christ *is* the Israelite, Christ *is* the son, Christ *is* the end of the law, Christ *is* the sacrifice, and Christ *is* the *doxa*. Moreover, George Carraway has recently argued convincingly that in Romans 9:5b Christ *is* referred to as God as well.⁵⁷⁸ In this way, Paul portrays Christ as God's essential *and* derived glory.

The fourth aspect of the *doxa* narrative found in Romans 9 is the eschatological glorification of Jewish and Gentile believers.⁵⁷⁹ The eschatological hope of those who have been granted mercy is their transformation into God's derivative glory (εἰς δόξαν). Here Paul's purpose is to highlight the eschatological nature of glorification to include both Jews and Gentiles in Christ.

God's manifested character and presence, namely his rich glory that was displayed to the Jews only, is now extended to the nations as well. The manifestation of God includes an ethnically wider eschatological corporeal union of the recipients of mercy with God. Whereas Exodus 33 highlights God's sovereign mercy to favor the Israelites, here God's *doxa* is manifested in his sovereign mercy to the nations. Whereas God's manifestation, his *doxa*, was a privilege given to Israel in the past at the expense of others, now the benefit is extended to the nations at the expense of Israel. Not merely the ethnic Israelites *de facto*, but peoples from the nations get to participate in the metamorphosis into God's derived *doxa* (προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν in Rom 9:23). God

⁵⁷⁷ As Moo accurately notes, all the terms in this list of privileges *have an eschatological connotation*. Indeed, the Book of Romans addresses how each of these privileges finds fulfillment in Christ. Moo, *Romans*, 563.

⁵⁷⁸ Carraway's study responds to Wilhelm Bousset's classic study, Carraway contesting Bousset's argument that Christ could not be identified as the Lord. George Carraway, *Christ is God Over All: Romans 9:5 in the Context of Romans 9-11*, LNTS 489 (London: T & T Clark, 2013); and Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970).

⁵⁷⁹ According to Schreiner, *doxa* refers only to Israel's past in Romans 9:4. Schreiner states, "A reference to the future glory of Israel is unlikely . . . the context indicates that the meaning of the term should be sought in the OT, not in Paul's general usage." Schreiner, *Romans*, 484. He seems to overlook numerous usages found in the Jewish Scriptures where *doxa* is employed as the anticipatory vindication of God's glory (e.g. Is 35:2; 40:5; 59:19; 60:1-3; 66:18-21). The end time manifestation of God's glory found an expectation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings as well. As will be indicated in my background chapter, the future eschatological anticipation of glory belonged to Israel as well. Thus, *doxa* cannot be limited to her past. Paul seems to be aware of the eschatological *doxa* texts and anticipations. For Paul, *doxa* is tightly knitted together with adoption/sonship (υἰοθεσία), belonging to the Israelites in the past (e.g. Exod 4:22-23; Deut 14:1-2; Is 1:2 63:16; 64:8; Jer 31:9; Hos 1:10; 11:1; Mal 1:6, 2:10), and now linked and identified with Christ (Rom 1:3) and with believers (Rom 5:2; 8:17, 18, 21, 23, 30) (see also Piper, *The Justification of God*, 31-32). To be precise, the LXX does not use the υἰοθεσία term, but the υἱός. That is why some deny the resemblance (Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950], 298f; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965], 5.) It is, however, probably best to see *doxa* as referring to both theophanies in the past *and* to the eschatological glory being inaugurated in Christ. The theophanic presence of God in the Israelites' history also gave them the future eschatological hope of glory.

promises to stay faithful, but the manner in which He does so surprises the Israelites. According to Paul, this manner is, however, anticipated in the Jewish Scriptures. Even the eschatological hope of transformation of glory was expected to take place among the nations, as was shown in chapter 2 (e.g. Is 11:10 LXX; 60:1-3 LXX; 66:18-21 LXX).

To summarize, in Romans 9 Paul uses *doxa* three times to refer to four distinguishable characters: first, *doxa* is God's past *theophanic* revelation of his own identity and character to the Israelites (especially manifested in Exodus 32-34); second, *doxa* resembles Israel's role to display God's derivative glory to rest of the nations; third, the eschatological promise to vindicate God's *doxa* is fulfilled in Christ; Christ is identified with God's essential (intrinsic) *and* derived glory; fourth, believers *in* Christ, Jews and Gentiles alike, are being transformed into God's derived glory.

4.7. The Vindication of the *Doxa* of God through Christ in Romans 15:6-13

Romans 15:1-13 is yet another passage where the vindication of God's *doxa* through Christ is presented noticeably. It is a part of a larger discussion (14:1-15:21) on how to relate to a believing brother whose ethical concerns (in this case eating) are different from another. The text reads:

We who are strong have an obligation to bear with the failings of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let each of us please his neighbor for his good, to build him up. For Christ did not please himself, but as it is written, "The reproaches of those who reproached you fell on me." For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that through endurance and through the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope. May the God of endurance and encouragement grant you to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice *glorify the God* [δοξάζητε] and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore welcome one another as Christ has welcomed you, *for the glory of God* [δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ]. For I tell you that Christ became a servant to the circumcised to show God's truthfulness, in order to confirm the promises given to the patriarchs, and in order that *Christ glorified God* with respect to the nations for mercy [τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν].

As it is written, "Therefore I will praise you among the Gentiles, and sing to your name" [cf. 2 Sam 22:50 and Ps 18:49].

And again it is said, "Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people" [cf. Deut 32:43 LXX].

And again, "Praise the Lord, all you Gentiles, and let all the peoples extol him" [cf. Ps 116:1 LXX].

And again Isaiah says, "The root of Jesse will come, even he who arises to rule the Gentiles; in him will the Gentiles hope" [cf. Is 11:10 LXX] (Rom 15:1-13).

Doxa occurs three times in this passage, two times as a verb (Rom 15:6, 9) and once as a noun (15:7). In the following section, I will explore the logic of the passage and seek to answer two questions: who is glorifying God and what are the implications of this glorification?

4.7.1. Christ Glorifies God

In three syntactically difficult verses (15:7-9), who is the one that is glorifying God? The first text reads, “Welcome one another as Christ has welcomed you, *for the glory of God* [εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ]” (Rom 15:7). Is it the mixed congregation of Jews and other nations that are called to receive one another for the glory of God,⁵⁸⁰ or is it Christ who received them for the glory of God? In other words, is the prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ connected to the main clause or to the subordinate clause?

In the first option,⁵⁸¹ the prepositional phrase is associated with the main imperative sentence προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, making the *doxa* of God a part of the command for Christians. Verses 5-6, which precede and give foundation (διὸ) for this imperative, slightly support this reading: “May the God of endurance and encouragement grant you to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice glorify [δοξαίετε] the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Rom 15:5-6). According to this option, the *goal of believers’ unity* is the glorification of God with one voice, and the ethical concern for accepting one another is for God’s glory.

The second option links the prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ with the subordinate clause ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς. In this reading Christ is the one who received people for the *doxa* of God. In other words, Christ is the faithful eschatological Servant who glorified God. Because both options are grammatically possible, I suggest that these readings are not mutually exclusive. Paul has both ideas in view.⁵⁸² Paul argued just earlier (15:2-3) and throughout chapters

⁵⁸⁰ Paul encourages the believers in Rome to receive one another (προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους). The ground and foundation of this imperative is found in the life of Christ that is portrayed as an exemplum of the right kind of action. Christ received the believers in Rome, including Paul (προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς).

⁵⁸¹ For this option, see also Ross Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile: A Fresh Approach to Romans 15:8-9,” *JBL* 116/3 (1997), 475.

⁵⁸² Thus at least Barrett, *Romans*, 248; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 846; I agree with Aaron Sherwood, who aptly states: “Given this comparison between Christ and Paul’s audience, it is likely that the syntactical ambiguity of the antecedent of the prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ is intentional. The phrase should be read with both the main verb and the dependent clause, so that the audience’s welcoming one another will be to God’s glory just as Christ’s welcoming them was to God’s glory.” Aaron Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Ancient Jewish Traditions* (Leiden: Brill Academic, 2012), 236. Schreiner seems to favor the second reading. “We should avoid an either-or here, for the intention is to say that believers should accept one another for the glory of God just as Christ accepted you for God’s glory.” Schreiner, *Romans*, 754.

1-11 the priority of the work of Christ as the foundation for ethical concerns. Consequently, “Christ received us for the glory of God” seems to function as a foundation for Paul’s ethical concern that believers who come from different ethnic backgrounds welcome one another.

Not only verse 7, but also the syntax of verses 8-9 is difficult and problematic: who is glorifying God here? There are four possible ways to interpret the syntax.⁵⁸³ In the first option, *δὲ* starts a completely new sentence, where *δοξάσαι* functions as an *optative*, taking the meaning: “let the nations *glorify* God for his mercy.” Though grammatically possible, this reading seems quite improbable because Paul does not seem to switch to the “prayer-mode” until verse 13.

In a second reading, two infinitives, *δοξάσαι* and *γεγενῆσθαι*, are seen as parallel to each other. The word *δέ* functions as adversative, making a comparison of the roles of Christ and the Gentiles. The text would read, “I say that Christ became a servant of the circumcised regarding the truth of God in order to fulfill the promises of the fathers, *but* [I say that] the *nations would glorify God* because of God’s mercy.” While this works grammatically, it is problematic to see Paul contrasting Christ’s servanthood and the nations glorifying God.

A third option, the most common among the commentators,⁵⁸⁴ connects the two infinitives *βεβαιῶσαι* and *δοξάσαι*, making them seem to parallel each other through the use of *δέ*. The text would read, “Christ has become the servant in order to confirm the promises of the fathers regarding the circumcision according to the truthfulness of God and that *the nations (would) glorify God according to his mercy*.” If the infinitives function as parallel and *δὲ* is connective (rather than adversative), the second clause can clarify and elaborate the first one. This option would mean that the promises given to the fathers include the nations (*τὰ ἔθνη*) glorifying (*δοξάσαι*) God for His mercy’s sake. The fulfillment by Christ of the promises given to the fathers for the sake of circumcision results in the nations glorifying God and thus fulfills the initial promise. This reading is quite feasible. The main problem in this reading, however, is an awkward grammatical change of subject (similar to option two) from *Χριστὸν* to *τὰ ἔθνη*.

In a fourth option, Christ is the subject of the second purpose clause instead of the nations. *Τὰ ἔθνη* functions as the accusative of reference. The latter part of the sentence would read, “Christ became servant *in order to glorify God* with respect to the nations.” Despite the fact that no commentator, at least not to my knowledge, even mentioned this possibility until 1997, this reading

⁵⁸³ See also the discussion of Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile,” 473-485. I am influenced by his categorization though the syntax is my own. See also Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 70, fn. 74.

⁵⁸⁴ See, for example, Moo, *Romans*, 875-878; Schreiner, *Romans*, 753-756; Jewett, *Romans*, 892.

is very attractive.⁵⁸⁵ According to Wagner, there are at least five worthy arguments to back this case. (1) At least seven other passages in the Pauline literature support the usage of the accusative of reference in Pauline literature.⁵⁸⁶ (2) Paul purposely wants to distinguish from the preceding genitive τῶν πατέρων to make sure that the readers do not mix τὰ ἔθνη with the first half of the clause. (3) This reading gives a structure that creates parallelism between “περιτομῆς” and “ἔθνη,” “ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ” and “ὑπὲρ ἐλέους,” and “βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων” and “δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν.” (4) This interpretation best explains the immediate context, including verse seven, where Christ is already described as the one who gives glory to God.⁵⁸⁷ In this way the reader does not have to wonder about the awkward change of the subject from “Christ” to the “nations.” (5) The opening quotation of the four-fold catena of Hebrew texts talks of the messianic Servant figure glorifying (or confessing and giving thanks publicly to) God. In this interpretation, “him,” “Lord,” and “the root of Jesse” all refer to Christ, who glorifies God in verse 9. He is also the fulfillment of the first quotation from Psalm 17:50 LXX.⁵⁸⁸

Though it is difficult to be certain about the syntax because of its complexity, it seems that the arguments given for the fourth reading are convincing enough.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore, Paul is saying that Christ became a servant (1) to the circumcised by fulfilling the promises given to the fathers by his truthfulness and (2) to the nations by glorying God by his mercy. Thus, for Paul, Christ functions again as a faithful eschatological Servant, as the one to whom, according to the Jewish Scriptures, the derivative glory of God was granted. To summarize, Paul seems to state twice that Christ glorified God and thus functions as the eschatological Servant figure who fulfilled the anticipation of the Scriptures to vindicate the *doxa* of God.

4.7.2. The Jews and Gentiles Glorify God

Because Christ functions as the eschatological Servant who glorified God, Jews and Gentile *can* now glorify God. Paul’s desire is to have both Jews and Gentiles identify themselves with Christ

⁵⁸⁵ Seifrid, “Romans,” 688, and Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile,” 481-485. Richard Hays argues convincingly that Christ is the one who prays the Psalms. He does not, however, comment directly on who is the one who glorifies. Richard Hays, *The Conversion of Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 101-118. Interestingly, other commentators do not even mention this as a possibility.

⁵⁸⁶ Rom 7:21; 8:3; 9:5; 12:18; 15:17; 1 Cor 5:3; Phil 4:10; cf. Eph 4:15. Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile,” 482. See BDR §160.1.

⁵⁸⁷ Seifrid, “Romans,” 688.

⁵⁸⁸ Matthew Scott, *The Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody in Paul: An Intertextual Enquiry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 103-132.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 101-102. See also the discussion in Sarah Whittle, *Covenant Renewal and the Consecration of the Gentiles in Romans*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 161 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 140-142.

in order to glorify God together.⁵⁹⁰ Consequently, Paul appeals to his readers with a scriptural basis and Christ's example for the purpose of Jews and Gentiles accepting and welcoming one another for God's glory. After all, Jews and Gentiles are called to "glorify God with one voice."

What is the essence of glorifying God based on the catena of quotations from Jewish Scriptures in verses 10-12? How do they explain and describe "glorifying God"? Paul elaborates and gives a more detailed description (γὰρ) of how Christ received believers starting in verse 8. As the structure of the sentence reveals, Christ became a servant (διάκονον) for two different groups: the circumcised (περιτομῆς) and the nations (τὰ ἔθνη). Paul concluded that Christ glorifies God with respect to the nations. To prove his point, Paul continues by quoting four different texts from Jewish Scriptures, including all three sections of the Hebrew Bible: the law (Deut 32:43), the prophets (2 Sam 22:50), and the psalms (Ps 17:50 LXX).⁵⁹¹ According to Hays, this may be a pre-Pauline early Christian tradition.⁵⁹² For the purposes of this study, Paul describes⁵⁹³ glorifying God as confessing/giving thanks (ἐξομολογέω), singing praises (ψάλλω), rejoicing (εὐφραίνω), praising (αἰνέω and ἐπαινέω) the Lord (15:10-11), and placing hope (ἐλπίζω) in God (15:12).⁵⁹⁴

The first quotation (διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ) comes from Psalm 17:49 LXX (Ps 18:50 MT; cf. 2 Sam 22:50). Paul uses the word ἐξομολογέω three times in his letters, always quoting from the Jewish Scripture text⁵⁹⁵ (Rom 14:11 [quotation from Is 45:23 LXX]; 15:9 [quotation from Ps 18:50 LXX]; Phil 2:11 [quotation from Is 45:23 LXX]). Elsewhere in the New Testament, the word is used for confessing sins (James 5:16; Mark 1:5; Acts 19:18), thanking God (Luke 10:21), and agreeing to do something (Luke 22:6).⁵⁹⁶ Seifrid adds:

⁵⁹⁰ See also Aaron Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Ancient Jewish Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁵⁹¹ The threefold division is called *TaNaKh*. T stands for *Torah*, N for *Nevi'im*, and K for *Ketuvim*. The exact dating of this three-division *TaNaK*, an aggregation of the Hebrew Scriptures, is unknown. This threefold division can be traced back to the prologue of Sirach, which makes a reference to "the Law and the Prophets and the others that followed them" three times. See also Luke 24:44, which states, "Everything must be fulfilled that is written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms." For a more detailed discussion, see Paul D. Wegner, *The Journey from Texts to Translators: The Origin and Development of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 41ff.

⁵⁹² Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 102-116.

⁵⁹³ See also Schreiner, *Romans*, 757-758.

⁵⁹⁴ The only commentator who makes this point is Schreiner in a short comment.

⁵⁹⁵ ἐξομολογέω occurs 78 times in LXX of which 51 of them are found in Psalms (2 Sam. 22:50 [quotation from Ps. 17:50]; 2 Chr 30:22; Ps 9:2; 17:50; 29:5; 32:2; 34:18; 42:4; 44:18; 51:11; 56:10; 66:4; 66:6; 70:22; 73:19; 74:2; 85:12; 87:11; 91:2; 96:12; 98:3; 99:4; 104:1; 105:1, 47; 106:1, 8, 15, 21, 31; 107:4; 110:1; 117:1, 21, 28, 29; 118:7, 62; 121:4; 135:1, 2, 3, 26; 137:1, 3; 138:14; 141:8; 144:10; Is. 45:23; Jer. 40:11; Dan. 2:23; Tobit 12:6, 20, 22; 13:3, 7, 8, 10, 11; 14:1, 2, 7; 39:6, 15; 51:1, 12; Dan 3:89, 90; 2 Macc 8:27; Ps. of Sol. 16:5). In Psalm 96:12 εὐφραίνω occurs with ἐξομολογέω.

⁵⁹⁶ Regarding ἐξομολογέω, Moo says: "The word is used in the LXX, with a dative following, to mean *praise* (cf. 2 Sam 22:50; 1 Chr 29:13; Ps 85:12; 117:28, etc)." Moo, *Romans*, 847, fn. 106; *BDAG*, "ἐξομολογέω."

ἐξομολογέω signifies the ‘praise’ of God, but here, as always it represents a response to him, as is the case with the Hebrew term that it translates (the Hiphil stem of *yada*). Often in Scripture such a response is voiced before others, frequently, in the context of blessings of deliverance that God has granted, as is the case in our text. This ‘confession’ thus frequently signifies an acknowledgment of the Lord in thanksgiving.⁵⁹⁷

Not only ἐξομολογήσομαι but also ψάλλω communicates the aspect of δοξάζω in Romans 15:10. Ψάλλω occurs in two other passages in Pauline literature (1 Cor 14:15 x2; cf. Eph 5:19) and fifty-eight times in the LXX.⁵⁹⁸ Ψάλλω and ἐξομολογέω occur together at least ten times (Ps 7:18, 29:15; 32:2; 56:10; 65:2; 70:22; 91:2; 107:4; 137:1; 146:7 LXX) and at least once ψάλλω and δόξα occur together in Psalm 65:2 (ψάλατε δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, δότε δόξαν αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ). Ψάλλω seems to mean “to sing music with or without instrument,”⁵⁹⁹ where the object of the singing reveals the object of worship (glory).

Towards the end of this psalm, the Psalmist starts praising (ἐξομολογήσομαι) Yahweh among the nations (ἐν ἔθνεσιν) and singing to his name (τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ) about how God brings salvation and love/mercy (ἔλεος) to the anointed one (χριστῷ), to David, and to his offspring (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ) forever. It is significant to note that in its original context, the verse does not necessarily visualize the nations themselves praising Yahweh. Rather, the Psalmist praises Yahweh *among and around* the nations. Paul quotes this text in order to show how Christ’s servanthood for the salvation of the Jews and the *nations* is the *fulfillment* of this psalm. The Messiah figure that David represents praises God. According to Hays, this passage is the only one (see also Rom 15:3) in which Paul reads “a passage from the Psalms as a reference to Christ, but he also attributes the words of the psalm directly *to* Christ.”⁶⁰⁰ Christ is not so much the direct prophetic fulfillment as an embodiment of “Israel’s destiny in such a way that David’s songs can be read retrospectively as a prefiguration of the Messiah’s sufferings and glorification.”⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁷ Seifrid, “Romans,” 688-689. Indeed, the context of Psalm 17 LXX verifies that David is talking about the attitude of thanksgiving. Facing enemies who threatened death (Ps 18:1-5), Yahweh’s deliverance from death (Ps 18:6-24), David’s victory over enemies (Ps 18:31:42), and Yahweh granting David the rulership over the peoples, function as the foundation for “confessing,” “thanksgiving,” or “praising” God.

⁵⁹⁸ Judg 5:3; 1 Sam 16:16, 17, 23; 19:9; 2 Sam 22:50; 2 Chr 1:15; Ps 7:18, 9:3, 12; 12:6; 17:50; 20:14; 26:6; 29:5; 29:13; 32:2, 3; 46:7 (x4); 46:9; 56:8, 10, 18; 60:9; 65:2, 4; 67:5, 26, 33, 34; 68:13; 70:22, 23; 74:10; 91:2; 97:4, 5; 100:2; 103:33; 104:2; 107:4; 134:3; 137:1; 143:9; 145:2; 146:7; Sir 9:4; Pss. Sol. 3:1, 2.

⁵⁹⁹ BDAG, “ψάλλω.”

⁶⁰⁰ Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 100-101. Hays argues against Käsemann, who reads Romans 15:9 as Paul’s reference to his *own* personal ministry among the nations. See Käsemann, *Romans*, 386-387. N. T. Wright and Greg Beale, for example, argue that Christ functions in the New Testament, including in Romans, as the embodied perfect Israel. See N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992) and Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*.

⁶⁰¹ Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 115.

Indeed, it is possible that this opening quotation of the four-fold catena serves as a heading for how the messiah *brings together* both Jews and Gentiles as one unified messianic community to glorify God.⁶⁰² In the original context, the nations (ἐν ἔθνεσιν) formed a group of violent enemies (Ps 18:48) who rose against David. For Paul, the purpose is, however, dissimilar. This psalm is used as a proof text to give evidence of the nations' participation in praising and glorifying God. How can Paul make such a shift? It is possible that Paul read this psalm typologically, as pointing to the risen Christ.⁶⁰³ Paul finds in the psalm a prefiguration of the eschatological Servant character who connects the Jewish people and the nations into one unified messianic community.⁶⁰⁴ The head of the nations (Ps 18:43) is the Anointed, the seed of David, who rules not only David and his ethnic descendants but also all the nations. They were anticipated to come glorify Yahweh already in Jewish Scriptures. Here Paul uses these texts to communicate how these the nations have become the worshippers of the Lord through Christ. Because they are now glorifying together as a messianic community, this Christ does not only function as a fulfillment of the prophetic psalm, but as a "paradigm for Christian obedience,"⁶⁰⁵ instructing believers to receive one another regardless of their ethnic background.

For Paul, acknowledging God and glorifying God is the result of Christ's kingship through his sin-atonement death and resurrection among Jews and all the nations (Rom 15:3; cf. 3:21-28). Unlike in Philippians 2:11, where the confession seems to include those who are not in the salvific relationship, here the emphasis is on God's mercy (ἐλεος) for the *believers* among all the nations.

The second quotation is from Deuteronomy 32:43. The context of Deuteronomy 32 is seemingly similar to Psalm 18. Moses calls the nations that are actually under the judgment of the Lord (Deut 32: 31-42 and 43b) to rejoice. For Paul, it is much more "convenient" to use the Septuagint.⁶⁰⁶ "Rejoice, nations, *with* his people" highlights the *mutual* rejoicing of Jews and the nations, instead of addressing the nations to praise his people, namely Israel. The mutual rejoicing is now, in Paul's mind, due to the salvation brought by Christ to Jews and the nations. The judgment has been avoided because of Christ's salvific work and his receiving the Jews and the nations. In other words, the nations that functioned as an enemy to be judged by God and an instrument that

⁶⁰² Dunn, *Romans*, 848-849.

⁶⁰³ Moo, *Romans*, 878-879.

⁶⁰⁴ Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 101.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁰⁶ "The LXX plausibly presupposes a haplography, by which 'im' ("with") has been omitted and supplies it to the text." Seifrid, "Romans," 689.

judged Israel is actually praising the Lord and rejoicing in him together with Israel because of Christ.

The word εὐφραίνω describes *a type of glorifying* (δοξάζω). It is used by Paul on only two other occasions (2 Cor 2:2; Gal 4:27). Εὐφραίνω can be translated as “to gladden, cheer up, be glad, enjoy oneself, rejoice, celebrate.”⁶⁰⁷ Glorifying God can be described as rejoicing in him.

The third quotation comes from Psalm 116:1 LXX.⁶⁰⁸ Paul purposely quotes this psalm (LXX), which also includes ἔλεος and ἀλήθεια (ὅτι ἐκραταιώθη τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; Ps 116:2 LXX). Indeed, the choice of these adjectives in verses 8 and 9 is probably because of this psalm. Verse 2 gives the reason for (ὅτι) the nations to extol and praise him. This psalm, among many others, has a universal scope of salvation. It works perfectly for Paul to highlight that the extent of salvation is larger and wider than the nation of Israel. It includes all the nations after the promise given to Abraham (cf. Rom 4).⁶⁰⁹

The fourth and final quotation in this catena comes from Isaiah 11:10.⁶¹⁰ Isaiah 11:1-10 is an eschatological passage that presents a promise of restoration after the judgment. This eschatological hope, brought by a descendant of Jesse who is characterized by wisdom, righteousness, and the fear of Yahweh (Is 11:2-5), includes the restoration of the earth (Is 11:6-10). This restoration of Israel (Is 11:11-16) and the nations (Is 11:10) will be the ultimate glorious consummation of the faithful. “In that day” is an eschatological hope that has now, according to Paul, arrived with the advent of Christ. Interestingly, the Septuagint changes the verb שָׁרַף (acquire) to ἐλπιουσιν (hope) as well as the “signal” to “the one who rules/leads rises” [ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν]. In Paul’s mind ἀνιστάμενος could be a reference to the resurrection of Jesus (cf. Rom 1:7). Be this as it may, Paul describes Christ as the one who leads and rules the nations; consequently, the nations put their hope⁶¹¹ in him.

⁶⁰⁷ BDAG, “εὐφραίνω.”

⁶⁰⁸ See Scott, *The Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody in Paul*, 93-132.

⁶⁰⁹ The verbs αἰνέω or ἐπαίνεω are found only four other times in Pauline literature (1 Cor 11:2, 17; 22 [x2]), and they are not used as synonyms for δοξάζω. They are usually translated as “to praise or to express one’s admiration or approval of a person.” As we can see, αἰνέω has been translated from two different Hebrew verbs לָלַח and נָחַץ. The former verb can be translated as “praise, cheer, brag on, extol, i.e., extol the greatness or excellence of a person, or event.” When αἰνέω exists in the LXX, it is almost always translated from לָלַח. The word נָחַץ means “glorify, extol, laud, i.e., make exuberant statements as to the excellence of someone” (BAGD, “αἰνέω” and “ἐπαίνεω”). James Swanson, “לָלַח” and “נָחַץ,” *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (Old Testament)*, electronic ed. (Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems, Inc., 1997).

⁶¹⁰ See J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 307-329.

⁶¹¹ ἐλπίζω is a common Pauline term (Rom 8:24, 25; 15:12, 24; 1 Cor 13:7; 15:19; 16:7; 2 Cor 1:10, 13; 5:11; 8:5; 13:6; 2:19, 23; cf. 1 Tim 3:14; 4:10; 5:5; 6:17; Phlm 22) and often is used in the eschatological sense (e.g. 1 Cor 15:19; 2 Cor 1:10; cf. 1 Tim 4:10) as hoping in God or Christ. It “looks forward to something with the implication of confidence” expecting its fulfillment. See BAGD, “ἐλπίζω.”

Paul describes glorifying God in the following ways: confessing publicly, giving thanks by Christ, singing, rejoicing and praising, and by the nations hoping in Christ. In addition, Paul concludes this section of encouragement and exhortation with a prayer. The purpose of this prayer is to see all who believe, Jews and peoples from all nations, abounding in hope through the power of the Holy Spirit with an experience of joy and peace (Rom 15:13). Characteristic of Paul, this section has an already/not yet tension. Christ is the fulfillment of the promise of the vindication of God's glory; however, it is not yet fully realized since his prayer is for them to thrive more and more *in future hope*.

To conclude, the purpose of this section was to show two aspects regarding the glory motif found in Romans 15:1-13. First, Christ is the fulfillment of Jewish Scriptures, the *eschatological Servant, who actually glorified God*. Paul would seem to make this statement twice, in verses seven and nine. Second, Paul motivates Jewish and Gentile believers to glorify God through Christ with harmonious voices (Rom 15:6) and to receive one another for the sake of God's glory because Christ has glorified God and received these harmonious voices for the glory of God. I argued earlier that, in Pauline thought, humanity was created to glorify God and to live harmoniously together. For Paul, the essence of sin is not doing so. Thus, Christ's function as the one who glorifies God (and vindicates God's glory) lays a foundation for the restoration of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, it seems reasonable to state that in Romans 15:7-13 Paul describes glorifying God as confessing, giving thanks, singing, praising God, and hoping in Christ. Christ is the eschatological fulfillment of the promises given to Israel for the purposes of bringing all the nations together under the leadership of Christ. The eschatological hope was anticipated in the promises given to the fathers regarding the circumcised, but now has found fulfillment in respect to all the nations in Christ. God's glory is vindicated through Christ, the eschatological Servant figure, who glorifies God. Consequently, those who identify with Christ are being brought into the restorative identity to glorify God together.

4.8. The Vindication of the *Doxa* of God through Christ in Philippians 2-3

After exploring the vindication of God's glory motif in Corinthians and Romans, Philippians 2:5-11 and 3:17-21 are yet other passages where the same motif is unequivocally seen. This pericope, where *doxa* is used thrice (2:11; 3:19, 21), is one of the most written about texts in the Pauline literature.⁶¹²

⁶¹² Those interested in a more comprehensive bibliography, see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Phil. II.5-11*, SNTSMS

Who [Christ], though he was in the form of God [ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ], did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped but emptied himself, by taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form, he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father [εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός]. (Phil 2:6-11)

Brothers, join in imitating me, and keep your eyes on those who walk according to the example you have in us. For many, of whom I have often told you and now tell you even with tears, walk as enemies of the cross of Christ. Their end is destruction, their god is their belly, and their glory [ἡ δόξα] is in their shame, with minds set on earthly things. But our citizenship is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body to be like his glorious body [τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ], by the power that enables him even to subject all things to himself. (Phil 3:17-21)

While these two passages stand separately,⁶¹³ they are linked together by the *doxa* association. The Philippians 2:5-11 hymn ends with the doxological shout εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός and Philippians 3:21 concludes with the eschatological hopeful expectations of “[Christ] will transform our lowly body to be like the body of his glory (δόξα).” Moreover, there are five other lexical correspondences (see Table 4.8.)

4, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1983); Peter O’Brien, *The Epistle of Philippians*, NIGTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991); and Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd, ed., *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2* (Louisville: Westminster, 1998). There is not a scholarly consensus whether this hymn is pre-Pauline or originated with Paul. Several arguments have been given over the years to reason for a pre-Pauline source: (1) unequivocal similarity of linguistic vocabulary between 2:6-8 and 3:20-21; (2) uncharacteristic Pauline vocabulary; (3) a change of thought in the text including γὰρ in verse 20 that does not seem to fit the text other than introduce a hymn; (4) the theology of the passage differs from Pauline thought; and 5) a typical hymnic structure including ἐξ οὗ and ὅς in the text. On the other hand, Kim has shown, quite convincingly, that 3:20-21, along with 2:6-10 cannot be proven to be pre-Pauline. Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 150-156. Philippians 2:6-10 seems to be a hymn about Jesus, who is fulfilling Adamic and eschatological servant roles. Paul wants to make a purposeful connection to this hymn to highlight these roles there. See O’Brien, *Philippians*, 467-472 for a good discussion on the issue. See also Jürgen Becker, “Erwägungen zu Phil. 3,20-21,” *ThZ* 27 (1971): 16-29. See a good discussion on “what is a hymn?” Fowl, *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul*, 31-45.

⁶¹³ For more on the possibility of Philippians 3:21 being a hymnic fragment, see John Reumann, “Philippians 3:20-21 – A Hymnic Fragment,” *NTS* 30 no 4 (Oct 1984): 593-609.

Table 4.8. The Parallelism between Philippians 2:6-10 and 3:19-21⁶¹⁴

Phil 2:6-10	Phil 3:19-21
<p>ὃς ἐν <u>μορφῇ</u> θεοῦ <u>ὑπάρχων</u> οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, 7 ἀλλὰ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν <u>μορφῇ</u> δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ <u>σχῆματι</u> εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος <u>ἐταπείνωσεν</u> ἐαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι <u>κύριος</u> Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς <u>δόξαν</u> θεοῦ πατρὸς.</p>	<p>ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς <u>ὑπάρχει</u>, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα <u>κύριον</u> Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς <u>μετασχηματίζει</u> τὸ σῶμα τῆς <u>ταπεινώσεως</u> ἡμῶν <u>σύμμορφον</u> τῷ σώματι τῆς <u>δόξης</u> αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάζει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.</p>
<p>A Parallelism between 2:6-10 and 3:19-21</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ μορφῇ - μορφῇ / σύμμορφον ⇒ ὑπάρχων / ὑπάρχει ⇒ δόξαν / δόξης ⇒ ἐταπείνωσεν / ταπεινώσεως ⇒ σχῆματι / μετασχηματίζει ⇒ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς / κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν 	

In the following section, I will argue that the vindication of the *doxa* of God takes place in Paul's "poetic narrative"⁶¹⁵ or "master story"⁶¹⁶ through identification with, or contrast to, six different characters, all of them associated with the *doxa* motif.

First, Christ is associated with the *doxa* of God: once directly and once indirectly. Christ's unequivocal, yet sometimes neglected, identification with the *doxa* of God takes place via a quotation from the Septuagint. In Philippians 2:9-10 Paul alludes to Isaiah 45:22-25 LXX:

Turn to me, and you shall be saved, you who are from the end of the earth! I am God, and there is no other. By myself I swear, "Verily righteousness shall go forth from my mouth; my words shall not be turned back, because to me every knee shall bow and every tongue shall acknowledge God, saying, Righteousness and *glory* [δόξα] come to him, and all who separate themselves *shall be ashamed* [αἰσχυνθήσονται]." By the Lord shall they be justified, and all the offspring of the sons of *Israel shall be glorified* [ἐνδοξασθήσονται] in God. (Is 45:22-25 LXX NETS)

The Isaiah text expresses a strong monotheistic worldview confronting idol-worship. The God of Israel does not share His *doxa* with any one (Is 42:8), and he reigns in righteousness and *doxa* (Is

⁶¹⁴ See a similar kind of table in Martin, *Philippians*, 150; Ben Witherington, *Jesus, Paul and the End of the World* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1992), 212.

⁶¹⁵ Stephen E. Fowl, *Philippians*, The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 89.

⁶¹⁶ Michael Gorman calls Philippians 2:6-11 as "Paul's master story." Michael Gorman "'Although/Because He Was in the Form of God': The Theological Significance of Paul's Master Story (Phil 2:6-11)," *JTS* 1 (2007), 150.

45:25), the confession that all the nations will come to acknowledge. Richard Bauckham⁶¹⁷ and Larry Hurtado⁶¹⁸ have persuasively shown that Paul identifies the object of worship to be Christ, in place of Yahweh, thus He receives the title κύριος. While Christ's identification with κύριος is widely acknowledged, less attention has been given to Christ's identification with God's *doxa*. It seems that Paul uses the same Isaiah text to link Christ with the Lord's essential character, *doxa*, as well (Is 45:24 LXX). N.T. Wright puts it well:

One true God does not, cannot, and will not share his glory with anyone else. It is his alone. Paul, however, declares that this one God has shared his glory with Jesus. How can this be? Of course, it will strain all our categories to [the] breaking point and beyond. But if we are going to let Paul speak in his own terms we cannot help it. For him, the meaning of the word 'God' includes not only Jesus, but specifically, the crucified Jesus.⁶¹⁹

Another possible identification with the *doxa* of God is with the phrase *the form of God* (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ). Joseph Hellerman has shown that μορφῇ θεοῦ should be understood as a signifier of social status with the social environment of Roman Philippi.⁶²⁰ This does not, however, mean that the phrase could not also contain ontological components referring to the essence⁶²¹ and the visible appearance (*Erscheinungsform*) of God.⁶²² Particularly convincing is Richard Weymouth's contextual argument to connect the form of God and the glory of God in verse 11 as the narrative book-ends. Moreover, Ralph Martin⁶²³ and Stephen Fowl⁶²⁴ argue that the glory of God connects

⁶¹⁷ Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament*, The Didsbury Lectures for 1996 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999). See also Richard Bauckham, "Paul's Christology of Divine Identity," September 15, 2015, http://www.forananswer.org/Top_JW/Richard_Bauckham.pdf; Richard Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11," in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 128-139; Richard Bauckham, "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, SJSJ 63, ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila and G. S. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 43-69.

⁶¹⁸ Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Larry Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Questions about the Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 83-110.

⁶¹⁹ N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said: Was Paul of Tarsus the Real Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 68-69.

⁶²⁰ Joseph Hellerman, "μορφῇ θεοῦ as a Signifier of Social Status in Philippians 2:6," *JETS* 52 (2009): 779-97. See also Eduard Schweizer, *Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1955) and Otfried Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper 2:6-11 Untersuchungen zu Gestalt und Aussage eines urchristlichen Psalms*, WUNT 17, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 57-59.

⁶²¹ Dennis W. Jowers, "The Meaning of ΜΟΡΦΗ in Philippians 2:6-7," *JETS* 49 (2006): 739-66.

⁶²² Richard J. Weymouth, "The Christ-Story of Philippians 2:6-11: Narrative Shape and Paraenetic Purpose in Paul's Letter to Philippi" PhD diss., (University of Otago, 2016), 404-422; Daniel J. Fabricatore, *Form of God, Form of a Servant: An Examination of the Greek Noun [morphē] in Philippians 2:6-7* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010).

⁶²³ Ralph P. Martin, *A Hymn of Christ: Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation & in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1997), 99-133.

⁶²⁴ Fowl states, "It seems most adequate, then, to take the *morfe* of God as a reference to the glory, radiance and splendor by which God's majesty is made visible." Fowl, *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul*, 54. See also 49-54.

the terms “μορφή of God,” “εἰκὼν of God,” and “δόξα of God” together here (as well as in 2 Corinthians 3:18, according to Martin). Even though these words are not synonymous and they cannot be equated without some reservations,⁶²⁵ their semantic domains cross each other. Thus, the form of God may be referring to the Hebrew Bible appearances of God’s glory⁶²⁶ and God’s exalted status.⁶²⁷ While Dunn, along with others,⁶²⁸ argues that Christ’s divine pre-existing and pre-incarnational status is not assumed or expressed in this passage, it appears that Christ, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ, is the *doxa* of God.⁶²⁹ At the same time, even though Paul associates Christ with the exalted status of God’s glory in lordship, he also distinguishes Christ from God the father (Phil 2:11). To conclude, besides a possible ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ connotation with God’s *doxa*, more apparently Paul’s quotations from Isaiah identify Christ together with the *doxa* of God, equating Christ with the character of God as the one who vindicates the glory of God.⁶³⁰

Second, Christ is not only characterized with the *doxa* of God, but the Adam-*doxa* association functions also as one of the backgrounds for this hymn. Christ is associated with the

⁶²⁵ David Steenburg, “The Case against the Synonymity of MORPHE and EIKON,” *JSNT* 34 (1988): 77-86.

⁶²⁶ G. Walter Hansen, *Philippians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 136-138. See also Behm, “μορφή,” *TDNT* 4: 751; Martin, *Hymn of Christ*, 104-105; J. Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150*, 2 vols (New York: Harper Collins, 1959), 478.

⁶²⁷ Stephen Fowl, “Christology and Ethics in Philippians,” in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians* 2, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster, 1988), 140-53.

⁶²⁸ James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1989); James D. G. Dunn, “Christ, Adam, and Preexistence,” in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians* 2, eds. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster, 1998), 74-84; Charles H. Talbert, “The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2:6-11,” *JBL*, 86 no 2 (1967): 141-153; Charles H. Talbert, “The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2:6-11,” in *The Development of Christology during the First Hundred Years, and Other Essays on Early Christology*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 140, ed. Charles H. Talbert, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 45-60; N. K. Bakken, “New Humanity,” *Int* 22 (1968): 71-22; G. Howard, “Phil 2.6-11 and Human Christ,” *CMQ* 40 (1978): 368-87; L. D. Hurst, “Christ, Adam and Preexistence Revisited,” in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians* 2, eds. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster, 1998), 84-95.

⁶²⁹ In Job 4:16 the LXX translated תְּהִיָּה as μορφή. The word תְּהִיָּה is translated as *doxa* as well in Numbers 12:8 and Psalm 16:15 (LXX). In other words, תְּהִיָּה is translated as μορφή and as δόξα. See also Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*, 131-133 for an excellent defense of this position. See also John Reumann, *Philippians*, Anchor (New Haven: Yale University), 342-343 for a good discussion on this issue. Cf. Norbert Baumert, *Der Weg des Trauens: Übersetzung und Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater und des Briefes an die Philipper* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2009), 304, who states: “Das Bekenntnis zu ihm als dem Herrn aber nimmt Gottes Ehre nichts weg, sondern ist im Gegenteil gerade Ort der Offenbarung von Gottes des Vaters Herrlichkeit...Wenn man Jesus als Herrnns bekennt, leuchtet darin Gottes Herrlichkeit auf.”

⁶³⁰ Hurtado concludes his study on Philippians by stating: “I suggest that the ode may reflect the desire to emphasize that the earthly events of Jesus’ life are to be seen as the career of the uniquely obedient one, that the outcome of that career was God’s unique exaltation and vindication of him, and that *all this in turn both manifests and serves the glory of God*. That is, while asserting an astonishing “binitarian” view, in which Jesus is linked with God and with divine purposes in an unprecedented way, the passage also reflects a concern to emphasize that Jesus’ career and his subsequent exaltation as well do not represent a threat to the one God of biblical tradition. Jesus’ exaltation, in fact, has its basis and its ultimate meaning in the glory of the one God” [emphasis mine]. Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?* 106.

anti-Adam-type figure. Morna Hooker, James Dunn, and N. T. Wright,⁶³¹ among others,⁶³² have perceived Adam Christology in this text. Despite voices who doubt this association,⁶³³ Genesis 1-3 seems to be echoed here.

Indeed, unlike Talbert and Dunn thinks, Paul seems to emphasize the essential glory of God *becoming/incarnating*⁶³⁴ to be the derivative image of God (Adam).⁶³⁵ Unlike the first Adam in Genesis 1-3, Christ is the obedient human, thus exalted to a position to be worshipped. Christ's active obedience and his death on the cross vindicate God's glory. This hymn ends with a doxological praise by which the character of the glory of God and the necessity of its vindication are underscored. Furthermore, Paul links the glory of God and the glory of Adam together, not unlike what can be seen in Ezekiel 1:28 ("The likeness of the glory of the Lord [ὁμοιώματος δόξης κυρίου]) and Daniel 7:13-14 ("to him [like a son of man] was given dominion and glory [δόξα] and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an

⁶³¹ Morna D. Hooker, "Philippians 2:6-11," in *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 88-100; Morna D. Hooker, "Adam Redivivus: Philippians 2 Once More," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000): 220-234; Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 114-121; James Dunn, "Christ, Adam, and Preexistence," in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2*, eds Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster, 1998): 74-83; N. T. Wright, "Jesus Christ is Lord: Philippians 2:5-11," in *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 56-98.

⁶³² Talbert, "The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2:6-11," 141-153; H. Ridderbos, *Paul, An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 68-78; Ralph P. Martin, *A Hymn of Christ: Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 1997), 106-19; Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*; Moisés Silva, "Philippians," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 836-837. They also see a correspondence with Colossians 1:15.

⁶³³ M. C. Vincent, *The Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1961), 78ff; T. F. Glasson, "Two Notes on the Philippians Hymn (ii.6-11)," *NTS* 21 (1974-75), 138; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 265; Gordon Fee, *Paul's Letters to the Philippians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 204; Ben Witherington III, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians: A Socio-Rhetoric Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 145. Witherington states, "The Adam-Christ *synkrisis* does not work here, either as comparison or contrast. In other words, Rom 5.12-21 and 1 Corinthians 15 should not be read into this text. They present a story of another sort for another time that does not speak of the preexistence of the Son, which we do find here, in the Christ hymn in Colossians 1, and in 1 Cor 8.6." See also M. Sydney Park, *Submission within the Godhead and the Church in the Epistle to the Philippians: An Exegetical and Theological Examination of the Concept of Submission in Philippians 2 and 3*, LNTS 361 (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 17-31.

⁶³⁴ George Caird, *New Testament Theology* (Oxford University Press, 1994), 91-92; Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*, 76-78. See also Michael Gorman, "'Although/Because He Was in the Form of God': The Theological Significance of Paul's Master Story (Phil 2:6-11)," *JTS* 1 (2007): 147-170.

⁶³⁵ Ralph Martin argues, "The μορφή θεοῦ may be equivalent of εἰκὼν = δόξα of God: and thus describes the first man, Adam at his creation (Gen. 1:26-27). Adam reflected the glory of the eternal Son of God who, from eternity, is Himself the 'image' of the invisible and ineffable God. Both Adams are thought of as possessors of celestial light. What Paul has learned at the feet of Gamaliel about the 'glory' of the first Adam...he transferred to the last Adam as He revealed Himself to him in a blaze of glory." Martin, *Carmen Christi: Phil. ii.5-11*, 111. J. M. Furness has argued that the contrast in this passage is between Christ and Satan. I think that he misses the point. See J. M. Furness, "Behind the Philippians Hymn," *ExpT* 79 no 6 (1967-68): 178-182.

everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed”). Similarly, Paul associates two characters, God and Adam, together in Christ.

The third way that Christ is identified with *doxa* is the association with the eschatological Servant figure described in Isaiah. Richard Bauckham has suggested that Isaiah 40-55, especially 53, the section on the eschatological suffering Servant, is echoed as the prophetic background for Philippians 2:6-11.⁶³⁶ Adam and the servant association together link the reader to Isaiah 40-55 (especially chapter 53).⁶³⁷ In my background chapter I showed how Isaiah paints a picture of the eschatological Servant who is both like (Is 53:4) and unlike (Is 52:14; 53:2) the people with whom he dwells.⁶³⁸ The *doxa* of God is vindicated through the judgment, humiliation, and the exaltation of the eschatological Servant. His restoration will cause Israel and the nations to be clothed with glory and to see the glory of God. Paul quotes and echoes Isaiah’s *doxa* motif by showing God’s superiority over idols through the Servant. Paul identifies Christ with this role. God, who does not share his glory with anyone else, indeed shares it with his Servant. In Christ, the *doxa* of God and the *doxa* of Adam (i.e. humanity) and Israel are essentially shared.

The fourth *doxa* identification of Christ, in this case with a comparable sense, might be with the emperor. Hellerman has argued that knowing the sociological background context in Philippi plays an important role in understanding Philippians 2:5-11.⁶³⁹ “Centrality of honor as a cultural value” and “honor as a preeminently public commodity” highlight two ancient Mediterranean world distinctives.⁶⁴⁰ While Hellerman ignores the Jewish background, he nevertheless convincingly contends that Paul intentionally highlights Christ’s superiority and complete uniqueness in his lordship and *doxa* over that of Caesar. Thus it is possible that Paul deliberately connects his religious inherited narrative, Christ, Adam and the eschatological motif with *doxa* and then applies it to his contemporary situation in Philippi. He parallels Adamic vainglory (Phil 2:3)

⁶³⁶ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 47-54.

⁶³⁷ Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 60.

⁶³⁸ O. Michel, “Zur Exegese von Phil. 2.5-11,” in *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis, Festschrift für K. Heim zum 80. Geburtstag* (Hamburg: Furche, 1954), 90ff. I am indebted to Stephen Fowl for this reference.

⁶³⁹ Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*. See also Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Peter Oakes, “God’s Sovereignty over Roman Authorities: A Theme in Philippians” in *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church*, ed. Peter Oakes (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 136-137. Erik M. Heen argues that Paul’s comparison is explicitly between the emperor and Christ. I would argue that Paul’s comparison with the emperor does not have to be exclusive to his parallelism with the Adamic figure. See Erik M. Heen, “Phil. 2.6-11 and Resistance to Local Timocratic Rule” in *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003), 125-153 and Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1292-9.

⁶⁴⁰ Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*, 35.

with emperor glory. The Jewish interpretation of the Adam tradition is also Gentile history. Paul, like in his letter to Romans, links Adam's vainglory with the type of glory of emperors.

After identifying four characters in different stories, all in comparison with Christ, Paul calls believers in Philippi to emulate Christ, the Adam figure, and the eschatological Servant, at the expense of the emperor and their opponents. The motivation of this emulation is two-fold: unity among the believers and consummate transformation into Christ's likeness and glory. Both of these take place in order to express publicly the vindication of God's glory through Christ.

The fifth aspect of *doxa* is when Paul contrasts the destiny of believers and his opponents (Phil 3:17-21). Paul intentionally highlights the difference in the eschatological *telos* between his Philippian followers and his opponents.⁶⁴¹ While there is a plenty of discussion on this passage, especially regarding the identification of the opponents, the comparative aspect of Paul's portrayal of the eschatological destiny between the two groups using *doxa* as the key term is neglected.

Doxa is used here not only to define Christ's character, but also in the intentionally negative sense of the eschatological destiny of Paul's adversaries. While the *telos* for Paul and his followers is participation in Christ's *doxa*, his opponents' destiny is a shameful *doxa*. This type of negative identification of *doxa* also occurs in the Jewish Scriptures: the Lord cannot stand the glories of other nations and therefore destroys them completely.⁶⁴² Paul follows a similar logic here.

Paul's comment regarding the eschatological hope of the transformation of believers' bodies is a part of the larger discussion (3:1-4:3), where Paul polemically cautions against the opposing party and encourages them to mimic him. This is indeed the fourth exhortation to imitate in this letter. The Philippians are called to imitate Christ (2:4-10). After that Paul clearly identifies Timothy (2:19-24) and then Epaphroditus (2:25-30) as models to follow. And lastly here, he calls the readers to emulate himself (3:17-21).⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ The opposing party group described in Philippians 3:19-20 could be libertines, antinomians, Judaizers, or participants in voluntary associations. The discussion regarding the nature and identity of these opponent group(s) is massive and very complicated and beyond the scope of this study. For a thorough discussion on the history of scholarship regarding the identity of opponents, see Nikki, *Opponents and Identity in the Letter to Philippians*, 14-22. See also O'Brien, *Philippians*, 26-34.

⁶⁴² The following passages indicate how the idols and glories of Assyria (Is 10:16-19), Babylonia (Is 13:19), Moab (Is 16:14), Aram (Is 17:3-4), Judah (Is 17:4), Arab/Kadar (Is 21:16), and Tyre and Sidon (Is 23:9) will be annihilated by the Lord. Here *doxa* refers to the pride of the nations: "And Babylon, which is called *glorious* [ἐνδοξος] by the king of the Chaldeans, will be as when God overthrew Sodoma and Gomorra" (Is 13:19 LXX NETS); "And now I say, in three years of a hired worker, *the glory* [δόξα] of Moab will be dishonored [ἀτιμασθήσεται] with all his great wealth, and it will be left few in number and without honor [ἐντιμοσύνη] (Is 16:14 LXX NETS). "For thus the Lord said to me; Yet a year, like the year of a hired worker – *the glory* [δόξα] of the sons of Kedar will fail" (Is 21:16 LXX NETS); "The Lord Sabaoth has planned to undo all the pride of *the glorious ones* [ἐνδόξων] and to dishonor every *glorious* [ἐνδοξον] thing on the earth" (Is 23:9 LXX NETS). Here the passages are used as a comparison to the *doxa* of the Lord.

⁶⁴³ See Richard S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and I Thessalonians*,

The detailed descriptions of the opponents highlight the contrast of the eschatological end for Paul (and his followers) and for his adversaries. As the identification of the opponents throughout the letter is enigmatic (indeed there are four passages altogether [1:15-17; 27-28; 3:2; 18-19] that talk directly about the rivals),⁶⁴⁴ the nature and identity of the opponents mentioned in the chapter are indeed inconclusive in today's scholarship. For whatever reasons,⁶⁴⁵ Paul drastically contrasts the eschatological destiny in terms of *doxa*. Paul depicts the eschatological destiny of his opponents by their perception of god, of glory, and their mindset because they live as the enemies of the cross of Christ. Their end is destruction (ὢν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια),⁶⁴⁶ their belly is their god (ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία),⁶⁴⁷ *their own glory* is their shame (ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν), and they think of earthly things (οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες).⁶⁴⁸ Paul seems purposefully to contrast the eschatological hope of the *doxa* of Christ among the Philippian believers to the *doxa* of the shame (αἰσχύνῃ) of his enemies.

What is αἰσχύνῃ referring to? Some think that the word here points to the uncovered sexual organs, and thus Paul would be signifying sexual immorality that involved open genital exposure as a shameful act (the word is used in such a manner in Nahum 3:5, Isaiah 47:3, and Ezekiel 16:36;

WUNT 161 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); E. Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher Shnsticher Gemeinden*, WUNT II/178 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

⁶⁴⁴ Many different groups have been suggested, and scholars have usually identified two or three different groups. Nina Nikki makes a rare exception claiming that Paul is referring to the same group throughout the letter (at least in 1:15-17; 3:2; and 3:19).

⁶⁴⁵ Nikki argues that Paul uses the tools of rhetoric to talk about the same cluster of opponents more intensively as the epistle advances. According to Nikki, the opponents are Judaizers, who are at least organizationally connected to the church in Jerusalem led by James. Nikki examines the opponents in Philippi from three interrelated viewpoints: polemical rhetoric, identity formation, and the historical reality behind the text. Nikki argues that Paul's language should not be taken literally, for Paul employed the ancient rhetorical technique of vilification against his opponents. The purpose of this rhetoric is not to give an accurate historical description of one's opponents, but to increase a sense of identity formation. Therefore, according to Nikki, Paul exaggerates the differences between his opponents and himself to highlight his own positive identity as a prototypical leader of the Gentile Philippian church. Nikki, *Opponents and Identity in the Letter to Philippians*.

⁶⁴⁶ Noticeably, the opponents mentioned in the first chapter have the same destiny: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐνδεξις ἀπώλειας (1:28; see also Romans 9:22 for the same kind of use; cf. 2 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 6:9).

⁶⁴⁷ Because of this, many commentators have speculated on the nature of the adversaries, suggesting they are libertines and hedonists who have exploited Paul's teaching on the justification of faith. Since the behavior aspect of Paul's ministry is underscored in 3:17, a clear comparison is made to the ethical behavior of the opponents. κοιλία most likely refers to overindulgence in eating, drinking, sexual activity, and "fleshly life." See Reumann, *Philippians*, 571-572 for six possible interpretations of κοιλία in relation to enemies. See also O'Brien, *Philippians*, 456, fn. 72. Cf. Beale, *We Become What We Worship*, 288.

⁶⁴⁸ The fourth and final depiction, "the ones who are setting their minds and thinking on earthly things" (οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες), seems to be a combination of theological and behavioral character. The opponents, according to Paul, have abandoned the quest for heaven, focusing and thinking solely on earthly, temporal, visible, and non-heavenly things. Paul's purpose is not, however, to criticize material and tangible things themselves. He has already pointed out Jesus to be the one to whom "every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth (ἐπὶ γαιῶν)" (Phil 2:10). Rather, the *mindset* of his opponents is idolatrous and solely on themselves without acknowledging the significance of the cross (2:6-8; 3:18) and the resurrection (2:9-10). Their understanding of the meaning of the cross disputes strongly with that of Paul, and therefore, their eschatological *telos* is different from his.

22:10; 23:10, 18, 29).⁶⁴⁹ Others have speculated that αἰσχύνη refers to circumcision, but there is no evidence in Pauline writing or in Septuagint texts for this meaning. In addition to the sexual reference, αἰσχύνη also seems to indicate divine judgment.⁶⁵⁰ Paul himself appears to refer to this earlier in his letter when talking about his own life goal. In Philippians 1:20 the verb αἰσχύνω seems to refer to divine judgment: “it is my eager expectation and hope that I will not be at all ashamed [αἰσχυνθήσομαι], but that with full courage now as always Christ will be honored in my body [σῶμα], whether by life or by death” (Phil 1:20). Isaiah 45:24-25 may be an allusion which sets αἰσχύνη and *doxa* in opposition to each other:⁶⁵¹

Righteousness and glory [δόξα] shall come to him, but those who have rejected him will be ashamed [αἰσχυνθήσονται]. On the other hand, the seed of the sons of Israel will be glorified [ἐνδοξασθήσονται]. (Is 45:24-25)⁶⁵²

Additionally, there is a play on words to highlight the drastic difference between identification with Christ and identification with (the first) Adam, Caesar, or the opponents.⁶⁵³ This dissimilarity is underscored by the use of κενοδοξία (self-exaltation), and glorification into Christ-likeness, progressively now (2:5) and to be consummated eventually (3:21). It is hardly a coincidence that Paul uses the word κενοδοξία in Philippians 2:3 to highlight the ethical behavior one should not emulate (cf. 4 Macc 2:15; 8:19; Wis 14:14). Contrary to the opponents’ mindset, the direction to take towards Christ’s glory is being humble and giving up one’s own rights.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁹ See also Gen 9:22, 23; Exod 20:26; Lev 20:17 in LXX. See Reumann, *Philippians*, 573.

⁶⁵⁰ αἰσχύνη (in a verb or a noun form) occurs in the context of divine judgment in the Septuagint. The opponents of Yahweh are put to shame in many LXX texts (Ps 34:26; 70:13; 108:29; 131:18; Is 3:9; 30:3, 5; 45:16; 47:10; Mic 7:10; Obad 10; Dan 9:7, 8; esp. 12:2). See, for example, the following: “αἰσχυνθείσαν καὶ ἐντραπείσαν ἅμα οἱ ἐπιχαίροντες τοῖς κακοῖς μου, ἐνδυσάσθωσαν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐντροπὴν οἱ μεγαλορρημονοῦντες ἐπ’ ἐμέ” (Ps 34:26); “αἰσχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἐκλιπέτωσαν οἱ ἐνδιαβάλλοντες τὴν ψυχὴν μου, περιβαλέσθωσαν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐντροπὴν οἱ ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά μοι” (Ps 70:13); “ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ σκέπη Φαραώ εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ὄνειδος” (Is 30:3); “πρὸς λαόν, ὃς οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτοὺς οὔτε εἰς βοήθειαν οὔτε εἰς ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ ὄνειδος” (Is. 30:5); “αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ καὶ πορεύσονται ἐν αἰσχύνῃ. ἐγκαινίσετε πρὸς με, νῆσοι” (Jes 45:16).

⁶⁵¹ See also Hos 4:7: “The more they increased, the more they sinned against me; I will change their glory [τὴν δόξαν] into shame [ἀτιμίαν].” Cf. Beale, *We Become What We Worship*, 288-289. This text mentions only δόξα and thus the direct textual link is less likely.

⁶⁵² “λέγων δικαιοσύνην καὶ δόξα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξουσιν, καὶ αἰσχυνθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀφορίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἀπὸ κυρίου δικαιοθήσονται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐνδοξασθήσονται πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ” (Is 45:24-25 LXX). Cf. Sir 4:21 “For there is a shame [αἰσχύνη] that brings sin; and there is a shame [αἰσχύνη] which is glory [δόξα] and grace.” (Sir 4:21)

⁶⁵³ Moreover, Paul contrasts Christ to many Roman emperors and office-seeking people who sometimes desired to be identified as savior (Paul here for the first time uses the name *savior* for Jesus [cf. Eph 5:23; 1 Tim 1:1; 2:3; 4:10; 2 Tim 1:10; Tit 1:3; and σωτηρία in Phil 1:19, 28; 2:12]), lord and *doxa* (Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi*, 34-109).

⁶⁵⁴ According to Gorman, the Philippian community is “called to proclaim and perform . . . the Pauline narrative about the crucified Jesus, as self-giving, life-giving Son of God and Sovereign Lord.” Gorman, *Becoming the Gospel*, 140. See his entire discussion 106-141.

The sixth aspect of the *doxa* of Christ is when Paul portrays the foundation of their eschatological destiny to be secured in their identity as participants of heaven, from which Christ will come back to restore and transform their humble bodies into his body of *doxa*. This transformation is into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ's last Adamic body. In verse 20, Paul moves from the depiction of his opponents to the portrayal of his own and his followers' eschatological hope and mindset. The opening γὰρ indicates a polemical and intentional reason for his opponents' misplaced mindset. Τὸ πολίτευμα, a *hapax legomenon*, can mean citizenship, a body of citizens, a commonwealth, a colony, government, or a state.⁶⁵⁵ Since the Macedonian city of Philippi was a Roman colony in the first century (cf. Acts 16:20), and thus the citizens of Philippi were awarded all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, the choice of the word is emotionally and rhetorically charged for those in the Philippian church.⁶⁵⁶ Their citizenship, or colony, is located in heaven (ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει), with all its rights.

While the actual change (μετασχηματίζει) is not explained, Paul unfolds the transformation of the object of the change, namely σῶμα, here. What is the significance of the eschatological transformation of believers from τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν to σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ? Paul communicates the continuance, yet at the same time a drastic and substantial change, of the material body here.⁶⁵⁷ There is a change from *a type or quality of body* from τῆς ταπεινώσεως to [Christ's] glory (τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ).⁶⁵⁸ What is the body of humility like? Paul does not seem to suggest that the body is inherently evil or sinful. Indeed, the choice of this word tells otherwise. In 2:8 Jesus "humbled (ἐταπεινώσεν) himself by becoming obedient until death, death on the cross." Jesus's action is to become obedient, not sinful or evil. Likewise, 4:12 depicts Paul's own capacity to "know what is to be humbled" (οἶδα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι) as not merely sinful. Therefore, ταπεινῶσις describes the current existing body that is not yet the final and eschatological body. It is called the "humbled state" because it is not the consummated state. Paul depicts the future body as conforming to the body of the glory of Christ (σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). He compares Christ's body of humility and Christ's body of exaltation.⁶⁵⁹ Rather than

⁶⁵⁵ LSJ, "πολίτευμα."

⁶⁵⁶ Gennadi A. Sergienko, *Our Politeuma is in Heaven!: Paul's Polemical Engagement with the "Enemies of the Cross of Christ" in Philippians 3:18-20* (Carlisle: Langham, 2013).

⁶⁵⁷ Gerhard Sellin emphasizes the discontinuity between the earthly body and the heavenly body after the tradition of Philo. See Sellin, *Der Streit um die Auferstehung der Toten*, 90-135. Karl-Gustav Sandelin sees the continuity among the people who are alive when Jesus returns. See Sandelin, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Weisheit in 1. Korinther 15*, 130-132.; Sandelin, *Sophia och hennes värld*, 39-76.

⁶⁵⁸ See also my discussion on 1 Corinthians 15 in chapters 3 and 4.

⁶⁵⁹ Paul may employ a hermeneutic technique *from the lesser to the greater*.

following a Philonic tradition on the immaterial better body, for Paul, the physical resurrected body of Christ is the greater body of glory.

Paul highlights not only the transformation of the body of humility to the body of Jesus's glory, but also the means and the authority by which Jesus accomplishes it. It is "the power that enables him even to subject all things to himself" [κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα]. There seems to be a textual link to Psalm 8⁶⁶⁰ and a thematic link to Psalm 110:1.⁶⁶¹ There is also again a link to *doxa*-terminology in Psalm 8:5: "You have made him a little lower than the heavenly beings and crowned him with glory (δόξῃ) and honor." As I suggested earlier (see chapter 2), Psalm 8 is a commentary on Genesis 1, where the psalmwriter describes the role of Adam. Therefore, Paul recognized Psalms 8 as a reference to Adam, and he deliberately assigns Jesus the Adamic role of Psalm 8:7 in Philippians 3:21 (cf. my discussion on 1 Cor 15:25-28 above). Not only the links to the psalms, but plausible linguistic ties to the hymn located in Philippians 2:6-10 strengthen the idea that Paul is talking here about the Adamic role. Table 4.7. above shows the similarities in vocabulary that seem to evidence that Philippians 3:20-21 is, if not a fragmented part of Philippians 2:6-10, at least an intentional continuation of the hymn. Thus, the authority that Jesus has gained and will gain is fulfilled in a type of Adamic authority. If this is the case, the eschatological destiny of Paul and his followers is transformation into the consummated body of *doxa* (cf. 1 Cor 15:45-50). Jesus's physical resurrected body of glory functions as a prototype for Paul and his followers.⁶⁶² And this prototype is patterned after, yet superior to, the original Adamic image.

However, the privileges of Paul and his followers had not yet fully materialized. They are waiting (ἀπεκδεχόμεθα) on a savior (σωτῆρα) to come from heaven. The eschatological hope is not yet fully realized, and they were waiting for a savior and his *doxa* to come on earth. This future-oriented event highlights the full realization of Paul's hope. It is noteworthy that "Paul is saying neither that *heaven is the Christian's destiny* nor that *heaven is the object of Christian hope*."⁶⁶³ Rather, his hope is rooted in heaven *from where* the final hope returns to change them. A well-attested Pauline inaugurated "already/not yet" theology is clearly present. Paul and his followers are already citizens of heaven, yet they are still waiting for the coming of their savior (cf. Eph 2:6;

⁶⁶⁰ Ps 8:7 LXX reads "πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ."

⁶⁶¹ Ps 110:1 LXX reads "ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου."

⁶⁶² Hooker states, "Christ becomes what we are, so enabling us to become like him." See Hooker, "Interchange," 356-357.

⁶⁶³ Gary L. Nebeker, "Christ as Somatic Transformer (Phil 3:20-21): Christology in an Eschatological Perspective," *Trinity Journal* 21, no. 2 (September 1, 2000), 171 [emphasis original].

Col 3:1-4). As citizens of heaven they currently *participate* in Christ, who is in heaven. At the same time Paul's eschatological hope is future-oriented as he anticipates Christ's return.⁶⁶⁴ This anticipation is not based on believers going away from the body to another world, or to heaven; rather they are waiting for the return of Jesus when he will change them to the body of glory. Jesus, the Adamic figure, will change Paul's body of humility into his body of glory. This body will still be material and corporeal, but finally will also be immortal and eternal.

To summarize, in Philippians 2-3 Paul ascribes to Christ six different characters, all of them through the *doxa* motif. First, Paul depicts Christ as the *doxa* of God, the object of worship as *kurios* and *doxa* and the one who vindicated God's glory. Second, Christ functions as an Adam-like figure for Paul. Third, Paul describes Christ as the eschatological Servant figure described in Isaiah. Fourth, Christ is identified as an anti-emperor *doxa* figure. Fifth, the *doxa* association contrasts the destiny of Paul and believers with that of his opponents (Phil 3:17-21). Sixth, the transformation to Christ's *doxa* is the eschatological hope for believers. In other words, Philippians 2-3 describes Christ as the one who shares the *doxa* of God, the essential intrinsic character of God,⁶⁶⁵ and God's derivative *doxa* as an antitype to the first Adam, the representative of humanity. Moreover, the eschatological destiny of believers and those who oppose Paul are contrasted by two different kinds of *doxa*: Christ or shame.

4.9. Summary

Paul argues for a need for the vindication of God's *doxa* due to the idolatry of Adam, Israel, and his contemporary audience and, consequently, the misrepresentation and lack of *doxa* in their lives. In this chapter I explored seven passages in light of Paul's *doxa* motif (1 Cor 2:6-8; 1 Cor 15:42-49; 2 Cor 1-4; Rom 5-8; Rom 9:1-23; Rom 15:6-13; Phil 2-3) by showing that Christ functions as and is identified as *doxa* and is the one who vindicated God's *doxa* by representing Him correctly. Even though previous studies, especially Newman's, have highlighted Christ's theophany as *doxa*, the link with Paul's narrative approach to vindicate God's glory through Christ is an unexamined motif. This chapter showed the following common features in light of the motif of the vindication of God's *doxa* through Christ:

1. For Paul, God's essential glory is not portrayed accurately—due to idolatry—in his creation. Adam (i.e. humanity) and Israel as the pinnacle do not represent God as his derived glory properly. The anticipated vindication of the *doxa* of God takes place through the *doxa* of Christ. Paul inherited a Jewish tradition in relation to *doxa*; the Jews

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 165-187, especially 171.

⁶⁶⁵ See Fee, *Philippians*, 203; and O'Brien, *Philippians*, 263-68.

understood that the Lord will eventually establish his eschatological kingdom of *doxa* through the eschatological Servant and he will be glorified and worshipped in Jerusalem, Zion, and to the ends of the earth. Paul pictures the Christ-event, namely suffering, crucifixion, and resurrection, as inaugurating this vindication.

2. Paul described Christ's identity as the intrinsic identity of the *doxa* of God *and* as the derived identity of the *doxa* of God. On one hand, Christ shares the essential identity of God as the Lord of *doxa*. Paul calls Christ the Lord of glory to identify him unequivocally with the God of the Old Testament. On the other hand, Christ shares the identity of the image and the *doxa* of the (second and better) Adam, who represents humanity, the eschatological Servant, and Israel, to fulfill the eschatological expectations of Jewish Scriptures. Christ is the one who glorifies God by taking on the identity of Adam and Israel.
3. Paul calls his audience to identify with the crucified and resurrected Christ as the *doxa* of God. Paul depicts the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ to have a transforming effect on the identity of Christ-believers. It transforms the believing humanity (including Israel and the nations) into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ.⁶⁶⁶ According to Paul, this transformation and glorification takes place progressively through suffering at the present time and shall be consummated ultimately at Christ's *parousia*.
4. For Paul, the restoration encompasses the entire creation, not only believing humanity. Anticipated in the Jewish Scriptures, the vindication of God's *doxa* through the eschatological Servant will be manifested in the restoration of the entire earth. For Paul, not only believing humanity, Jews, and the nations, those who identify themselves with Christ's *doxa*, but also the entire creation will be restored at Christ's *parousia* so that God's glory will encompass his entire creation.
5. Paul seems to employ a hermeneutic method, *qal wahomer* (from the lesser to the greater) to contrast and show the superiority of Christ's *doxa* compared to the Adamic and Mosaic *doxa*. Paul considers the first Adam's pre-fallen body to be a shadow and a pre-figure of the glory of Christ, the firstfruit of all the believers' resurrected *doxa* bodies (1 Cor 15:45-50). Moreover, the current body of humility is compared to the eternal body of *doxa*. Furthermore, God's revelation of himself as *doxa* to Moses is inferior to the presence of God manifested in Christ (2 Cor 3-4). Thus, Paul does not merely talk about the restoration of humanity back to its creational *doxa*. He goes a step further: the eschatological *doxa* of Christ, and of those who are identified with him, is even substantially greater than that of the first Adam and Israel. This hermeneutic has some similarities with the Hodayot understanding of the eschatological Adam's glorification being a *completion* of original Adam's glory.

⁶⁶⁶ There is also an increasing interest in Pauline studies regarding the participation motif as a soteriological reality. My study contributes to a possible affinity between the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of *theosis* and the Pauline *doxa* motif. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ*; Finley, "Can We Speak of Theosis in Paul?"; Litwa, "2 Corinthians 3:18 and Its implications for Theosis"; Litwa, *We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul's Soteriology*. Gorman, *Inhabiting the Cruciform God*; Gorman, "Romans: The First Christian Treatise on Theosis"; cf. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel: A Suggestive Strategy*; Blackwell, *Christosis*.

6. Contrary to many manifestations of God's *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures, for Paul, God's revelation of *doxa* takes place through suffering. Equating the affliction of Jesus with the manifestation of the Lord of glory is paradoxical, yet this is a normative pattern for Paul's understanding of the identity of Christ as *doxa* as the means of transformation for those who identify with Christ's glory.
7. Paul exposes his opponents' different agendas and identities by contrasting the *doxa* of God in Christ and the *doxa* of his opponents, including emperors. The Jewish Scriptures also identified some of the evil nations with self-glory. Similarly, the rhetorical strategy of Paul includes a play on words, namely *doxa*, to highlight and contrast the crucified and resurrected Christ with his opponents.

This vindication of God's *doxa* through Christ is expressed in Pauline doxologies, and it also stands as a foundation for several Pauline hortatory passages. I turn next to explore doxologies and exhortation texts in light of Paul's *doxa* motif.

5. DOXOLOGIES AND PAUL’S PARAENESES IN LIGHT OF THE VINDICATION OF THE *DOXA* OF GOD THROUGH CHRIST

“If mountains worship God by being mountains and stars worship God by being stars, how do humans worship God?
By being human, in the full glory of what that means.”⁶⁶⁷
-J. Richard Middleton

“Whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.”⁶⁶⁸

-Apostle Paul

In the past chapters I have explored how Paul defines the vindication of God’s glory through Christ. This vindication is also expressed in four doxologies. After examining Pauline doxologies and their significance for an understanding of the vindication of God’s glory through Christ, the second part of this chapter will survey Pauline passages that discuss the ethical paraeneses on *how* to glorify God in light of the Christ-event.

5.1. Doxologies

While the word *doxology* does not occur in the Pauline letters (or elsewhere in the New Testament), this term has been used to describe a certain type of hymnic genre in New Testament literature. According to Peter T. O’Brien, doxologies are “short, spontaneous ascriptions of praise to God which frequently appear as concluding formulae to prayers, hymnic expressions and sections of Paul’s letters.”⁶⁶⁹ Moreover, a shorter definition states a doxology is “a declaration of praise to God or a brief hymn expressing His power and glory.”⁶⁷⁰ While there are doxologies that do not contain the word δόξα,⁶⁷¹ it is my purpose in this section to limit my analysis to the texts in which the word δόξα occurs in undisputed Pauline letters.

⁶⁶⁷ J. Richard Middleton, *A New Heaven and a New Earth: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015), 41.

⁶⁶⁸ 1 Cor 10:31.

⁶⁶⁹ Peter T. O’Brien, “Benedictions, Blessings, Doxology, Thanksgiving,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 68-71.

⁶⁷⁰ *Nelson’s New Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, s.v. “Doxology” (London: Nelson, 1995).

⁶⁷¹ L. G. Champion makes observations on Pauline doxologies, including those that do not necessarily have δόξα in them. See L. G. Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul* (Oxford: Kemp Hall, 1934).

This section explores four Pauline doxologies that all include the same concluding formula, ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.⁶⁷² Galatians 1:3-5, Philippians 4:19-20, Romans 11:34-36, and 16:25-27.⁶⁷³

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father, *to whom be the glory forever and ever*. Amen [ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἡ δόξα]. (Gal 1:3-5)

My God will supply every need of yours according to his riches *in glory in Christ Jesus* [ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ]. To our God and Father *be glory, forever and ever*. Amen [ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων]. (Phil 4:19-20)

Oh, the depth of his riches, and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways! For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been his counselor? [Is 40:13 LXX] Or who has given a gift to him that he might be repaid? [Job 41:3 LXX] For from him and through him and to him are all things. *To him be glory forever* [αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας]. Amen. (Rom 11:33-36)

Now to him who is able to strengthen you according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of mystery that was kept secret for long ages but has now been disclosed and through prophetic writings has been made known to all nations according to the command of the eternal God to bring about the obedience of faith – to the only wise God *be glory forevermore* through Jesus Christ, *to him* [ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας] Amen (Rom 16:25-27).

Other passages include doxological elements as well (Phil 2:5-11; Rom 4:20; Gal 1:24; 1 Cor 10:31; 2 Cor 1:20) without having the complete doxological formula. These passages are examined elsewhere (see 4.8. and 5.2.). The purpose of this chapter is to explore passages that include the closing phrase “ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.” After providing a brief background, I will show how these four doxologies contribute to the overall thesis by highlighting Paul’s descriptions of the character of God as *doxa*, the work and identity of Christ as the person who vindicates God’s *doxa*, and his engagement with the Stoic philosophy of contemporary times.

⁶⁷² In disputed Pauline letters there are three similar doxologies: Eph 3:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18. For doxologies in the rest of the New Testament, see Hebr 13:21; 1 Pet 4:11; Rev 1:6; 5:13; 7:12. For doxologies in early Christian literature outside of the New Testament, see 1 Clem. 20:12; 32:4; 43:6; 50:7; 61:3; 64:1; Did. 4:4; 9:2; 9:3; Mart. Pol. 14:3; Acts of Pet. 3:29.

⁶⁷³ The originality and location of the doxology in Romans 16:25-27 is a disputed matter. Many manuscripts place it here (P⁶¹, Aleph, A, B, C, D, P, 33, 81, 104, 256, 263, 365, 436, 459, 0150, 1319, 1573, 1739, 1852, 1962, 2127, 2200, 2464, it^{ar}, b, d, f, o arm, geo¹, vg, syr^p, cop^{sa, bo}, eth, Origen^{lat}, mss acc to Origen^{lat}, Hilary, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Jerome, Augustine), while some manuscripts place it after 14:23 (A, P, 6, 33, 104, 424, 459, 0150, 1175, 1241, 1881, 1912, arm, geo¹ Byz, Lect it^{guc} vg mss, syr^h, geo², slav, mass^{acc} to Origen^{lat} Chrysostom) or after 15:33 (P⁴⁶ and 1506), and a couple of manuscripts omit it altogether (F, G). Apparently, this is a difficult matter. I will, however, include this passage in my analysis. See Moo, *Romans*, 936, fn. 2 for an excellent discussion. See also James K. Elliott, “The Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans,” *ZNW* 72 (1981): 124-130.

5.1.1. Background

The structure of Paul's doxologies probably originated in the liturgical worship of a Jewish-Christian community having its background in the Jewish Scriptures and Second Temple Judaism covenant community.⁶⁷⁴ Paul did not invent the doxologies (which often included prayers and hymns)⁶⁷⁵ as a literary device, but he utilized a common mode of praise and expression found in the Jewish Scriptures⁶⁷⁶ and rabbinic literature.⁶⁷⁷ For example, doxologies are expressed in some psalms⁶⁷⁸ and in some later Septuagint literature:

Bring to the Lord, O paternal families of the nations; bring to the Lord *glory and honor* [δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν]. (Ps 95:7 LXX NETS)

Blessed are you, O God of our ancestors, and blessed be your holy and *glorious* name for the ages [ἔνδοξον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας]. (Tob 8:5 LXX NETS)

L. G. Champion showed as early as 1934 that “all the chief expressions used in the benedictions and doxologies have been quoted and there can be little doubt concerning their sources. Many were taken over from the Septuagintal prayers of the synagogue; and these were formed by association with phrases from these sources. But the chief source is clearly the Old Testament.”⁶⁷⁹ A typical phrase at the end of the doxologies, “εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,” occurs identically twice in the Septuagint and once with ἡ δόξα (4 Macc 18:24) as a prefix and once without it (Ps 83:5 LXX). More common is the slight variation “εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,” which occurs twenty-nine times in the Septuagint.⁶⁸⁰ Paul also inherited a common way to conclude doxological shouts from the psalm writers: ἀμήν.⁶⁸¹ Indeed, ἀμήν concludes each of the four psalm sections (Ps 41:13; 72:19; 89:52; 106:48).⁶⁸²

Paul's doxologies probably originated from the early Christian liturgical worship that was a combination of Jewish Scriptural background and contemporary Roman religious culture. Roman

⁶⁷⁴ See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996).

⁶⁷⁵ See the synonymous use of God's *doxa* and name in chapter 2. Similarly, Tobit 1:16-17; 11:14-15; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 549; Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul*.

⁶⁷⁶ See my discussion in chapter 2. Champion records 2 Chr 30:8; Ps 67:35; Is 42:12; Jer 13:16 as a *source* for these doxologies.

⁶⁷⁷ See Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo von Alexandria* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

⁶⁷⁸ E.g. Ps 28:1-2, 8; 62:3; 65:2; 95:3-4; 7-8; 96:6; 101:15-17 LXX; see also 1 Chr 29:11 and 2 Esd 19:15 “εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον θεὸν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ὄνομα δόξης σου καὶ ὑψώσουσιν ἐπὶ πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ καὶ αἰνέσει.”

⁶⁷⁹ Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul*, 121.

⁶⁸⁰ 1 Kgs 2:33; 1 Esd 4:38; Tob 6:17; Ps 9:6, 37; 40:14; 44:7, 18; 47:15; 51:10; 60:9; 71:19; 82:19; 88:30; 91:8; 103:5; 110:3, 8, 10; 111:3, 9; 118:44; 144:1, 2, 21; 148:6; Odes Sol. 14:31; Sir 39:20; 42:21.

⁶⁸¹ Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 15:33; 16:27; 1 Cor 14:16; 2 Cor 1:20; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:20; 1 Thess 3:13; cf. Eph 3:21; 1 Tim 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18.

⁶⁸² Bruce Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC 41 (Nelson, 1990), 9-10.

religious culture was ubiquitous, salient, and diverse, and it took place in sacred places surrounded by the images of gods that were worshipped around a shared meal and through common rituals.⁶⁸³ While the Jewish worship setting shared many elements with Roman religions, two distinctive elements of Jewish worship were the absence of images and its exclusive nature. When considering Jewish-Christian worship, Larry Hurtado, following Wayne Meeks, points out two identifying markers among the first Christ-believers: (1) Christ is worshipped as divine along with God; and (2) worship of any other gods is strictly forbidden.⁶⁸⁴ Paul's doxologies fit Hurtado's markers, yet these doxologies provide a nuanced understanding in light of the narrative reading of the vindication of *doxa* through Christ.

5.1.2. The Christ-Event Vindicates the *Doxa* of God

The intrinsic character of the *doxa* of God is highlighted as the pinnacle point of four doxologies. In each usage of δόξα in these four doxologies (cf. Eph 3:21; 2 Tim 4:18) the word occurs with an article, ὁ.⁶⁸⁵ In addition, all four doxologies also start with the dative (ὧ, αὐτῷ, τῷ) reference to God. The dative seems to indicate both the intrinsic possessive character of the *doxa* of God⁶⁸⁶ and people's response of giving *doxa* to God.⁶⁸⁷ The background study revealed that both of these usages are employed in Jewish writings. The audience that was aware of the Jewish Scriptures would have recognized the widely used phenomena of *doxa* of both.

On the one hand, Paul's purpose for ascribing glory to God is not to increase God's *doxa* or to add something to Him that He did not already possess. Rather, Paul recognizes, acknowledges, and extols God's character for vindicating His own *doxa* through Christ.⁶⁸⁸ The vindication highlights the unlimited extent of eternal *doxa* that is ascribed to the Lord.

This character of the *doxa* of God is richly described in these doxologies. In Romans 11: 34-26 Paul uses two Jewish texts (Isaiah 40 and Job 41) in their larger context to highlight typologically the character of God. Paul depicts the *doxa* of God as rooted in his total sovereignty over creation and salvation. The character of God as an infinitely wise, incomprehensible,⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸³ Larry Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 7-28.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 39; Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 160. See also Sandelin, *Attraction and Danger of Alien Religion*, 94-132.

⁶⁸⁵ The doxologies assume the indicative ἐστὶν rather than the optative εἴη. O'Brien, *Philippians*, 550.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ Dative of indirect object.

⁶⁸⁸ See also Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph Martin, *Philippians*, WBC 43, rev. ed. (Nashville: Nelson, 2004), 209.

⁶⁸⁹ The starting phrase, "Oh, the depth of his riches, namely both God's wisdom and knowledge," forms the first part (θεοῦ is a subjective genitive referring to God's infinite knowledge, not to human's knowledge of God). Paul extols God's infinite and endless wisdom and knowledge. It is very difficult to see grammatically whether Paul is describing depth with three different qualities (riches, wisdom, and the knowledge of God) or if "wisdom and knowledge of God"

sovereign creator, sustainer, judge and savior,⁶⁹⁰ whose salvific work (including that of the Jews and the nations)⁶⁹¹ found fulfillment in Christ, highlights the definition of the everlasting glory of God.⁶⁹² Andrew D. Naselli recapitulates Paul's theological use of Isaiah and Job in Romans 11 as the foundation and reason for the doxology:

The three rhetorical questions in Rom 11:34-35 communicate three of God's characteristics that correspond to his ways in salvation history, and each of them carries simple and profound theological implications: First, *God is incomprehensible in the sense that no one can fully understand him* (11:34a). At least four theological implications follow: (1) humans cannot understand everything; (2) God is not obligated to explain anything; (3) Christians must humbly believe and cherish what God has revealed; and (4) God deserves praise for what he does and does not explain. Second, *God is without counselors* (11:34b). At least two theological implications follow: (1) humans should not try to give God advice, and (2) God deserves praise for not needing advice. Third, *God is without creditors* (11:35). At least two theological implications follow: (1) humans should not try to place God in their debt, and (2) God deserves praise for not owing anything to anyone. These three characteristics share at least two implications: (1) God's attributes are humbling, and (2) God is gloriously praiseworthy. These characteristics and their implications tie perfectly into Rom 11:36, the final climactic verse. *All three of God's characteristics in Rom 11:34-35 are rooted in God's sovereignty* (11:36a) and culminate in doxology (11:36b).⁶⁹³

are further explanations of "the depth of his riches." I lean towards the latter. See Schreiner, *Romans*, 632-633; contra: Barrett, *Romans*, 210; Cranfield, *Romans*, 2.589; Käsemann, *Romans*, 319; Wilckens, *TDNT* 7:518; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 634; Moo, *Romans*, 741; Seifrid, "Romans," 678. This wisdom and knowledge are not two separate characteristics of God, but refer most likely to God's saving plan as described in the whole letter so far (1:18-11:31), especially in relation to expression of his election of individual people from Israel and the Gentile nations through the salvation history found in chapters 9-11. For scholars who consider only chapters 9-11 to be the primary reason for this doxology, see Murray, *Romans*, 2.104-105; Käsemann, *Romans*, 318; Cranfield, *Romans*, 2.589; Moo, *Romans*, 740; Schreiner, *Romans*, 632. For scholars who see the entire letter so far as the reason for the hymn, see Bruce, *Romans*, 211 and Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 632. The doxology is not motivated by the hiddenness of God's wisdom and knowledge, but by the revelation of God that is "mind-transcending" and beyond our own wisdom. See Moo, *Romans*, 740.

⁶⁹⁰ The second strophe of the hymn includes three paired rhetorical questions. The first one, "how unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable (*ἀνεξίχνιαστοι*) his ways" is a stylized construction: *ἀνεξεραυνήτα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξίχνιαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ*. Both predicative adjectives start with the *ἀνε* suffix followed by an article and a subject with a possessive pronoun. "God's judgments are unfathomable and God's ways are incomprehensible." This synonymous parallelism praises God's providential salvation history that includes both judgment and salvific acts executed perfectly (cf. 1 Chr 16:12, 14; Job 26:14; Ps 9:26; 76:20; 94:10; Is 55:8-9). James Hamilton explores the biblical themes of salvation and judgment in relation to God's glory in Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*.

⁶⁹¹ The second question is a quotation from Isaiah 40:13 LXX: "For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been his counselor?" In the Old Testament context this text comforts and warns Israelites who are in exile in Babylon to trust Yahweh, who is the only creator, judge, and savior; He has absolute power over all the idols. Now in the light of chapters 9-11, God's inscrutable works include the plan that saves *both Israelites and nations as one corporeal body* from God's judgment in an amazing way that no man could imagine. For Paul, on the one hand, the salvation plan that includes the nations fulfills the prophecy from Isaiah 40, and on the other hand Isaiah 40 functions as a typology to God's historical salvific plan.

⁶⁹² The third and final question is a reference from Job 41:3. "Or who has given a gift to him that he might be repaid?" In the Book of Job, Job complained that God was unjust because of his own suffering. For Job, God's answer illustrates God's sovereignty and autonomy over everything. God is not dependent on his creatures. The creatures are dependent on him. Paul uses this quotation from Job to express how the entire salvation history itself highlights God's judgment and sovereign grace as He orchestrates it. People's "salvation rests in coming to see God as Creator in Christ." Seifrid, "Romans," 679.

⁶⁹³ Naselli explores the doxology by conducting a detailed analysis of the quoted Old Testament passages in their

The doxology in Romans 16:25-27 also describes the nature and character of God. Three characters contribute to the *doxa* of God: God who is able to strengthen believers according to the *kerygma* of Christ, namely with the Gospel and by the unfolding mystery,⁶⁹⁴ the eternal God, and the only wise God. Moreover, in the doxology found in Philippians 4:19-20, Paul highlights the character of God as the one who takes care of the Philippians' needs, contemporarily and eternally.

Besides describing the character of the *doxa* of God, Paul also calls his audience to respond to the Christ-event by ascribing their glory to God. Whereas the definition of sin is idolatry (Rom 1), namely not giving glory to God, the Christ-event restores humanity, Jews and Gentiles alike, to give glory to God.

The doxologies underscore the importance of the Christ-event as the means for vindicating the *doxa* of God. In Galatians 1:3-5,⁶⁹⁵ Paul highlights the only doxology that takes place in the salutary section of Paul's letters,⁶⁹⁶ namely three aspects regarding the Christ-event: (1) the Christ-event begins with Christ's voluntary death⁶⁹⁷ and is done according to the will of the Father in the

original context, including how Paul interprets them in light of the Christ-event. Andrew D. Naselli, *From Typology to Doxology: Paul's Use of Isaiah and Job in Romans 11:34-35* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 161-162 [emphasis mine].

⁶⁹⁴ God's second way of strengthening is the way He unfolds the salvation history, namely, the revelation of the mystery. Μυστήριον is a common Pauline term occurring twenty times in his writings, see Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1, 7; 4:1; 1 Cor 13:2; 15:51; cf. Col 1:25-27; 2:2; 4:3; 2 Thess 2:7; 1 Tim 3:9, 16. See also Sivonen, "The Hermeneutical and Theological Significance of *to Mysterion* in Ephesians." It always, without exception, occurs with revelatory words (here ἀποκάλυψις, φανερώω), to communicate the process of salvation history unfolding and finding its climax in Christ. Here the mystery is contrasted clearly (δὲ) with two eras: the epoch of hiddenness (χρόνους αἰώνιους σεσηγημένους [hidden in eternal times]) and the period of revealing (φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διὰ τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος [made manifest now through the writings of the prophets according to the command of the eternal God for the purpose of the obedience of faith made known unto all the nations]). Elsewhere the mystery has dimensions that are being revealed. On the other hand, it refers to Christ (1 Cor 2:1; cf. Eph 1:9; 6:19; Col 2:2; 4:3), but even more so to the salvific inclusion of the nations in the church (Eph 5:32). It is in relation to the second point that Paul uses μυστήριον earlier in Romans when he talks about a partial hardening of Israel for the purpose of the nations being brought into the church (Rom 11:25). Clearly, Paul talks about the inclusion of the nations in the salvific plan of God as μυστήριον here as well.

⁶⁹⁵ According to Louis Martyn, the first part of verse four is a quotation and formula from an early Judeo-Christian liturgy that is "to a significant degree foreign to Paul's own theology." Louis Martyn, *Galatians*, AB 33A (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

⁶⁹⁶ While many main sections of Pauline letters start with thanksgiving, (εὐχαριστέω in Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2, Phlm 1:4; cf. Col 1:3; 2 Thess 1:3) or a blessing (εὐλογητός in 2 Cor 1:3; cf. Eph 1:3), this doxology's placement is unique among the Pauline corpus. So, why does Paul use the doxology in the salutary section? What is the function of the doxology within Paul's rhetorical message? Paul was the one who brought the message of the Gospel to the Galatians, but now opposing people who want to trouble and disturb the Galatians and distort the Gospel of Christ (Gal 1:6-7; 5:12; 6:12) are influencing Galatian churches and jeopardizing the very person and the message of Paul. In light of this, it is possible that Paul is placing a reminder of his message and how this brings glory to God at the very beginning of his letter for emphasis. An appeal to God's glory would be the highest and most ultimate form of rhetorical and emotional petition. Cf. Dieter Mitternacht, *Forum für Sprachlose: Eine kommunikationspsychologische und epistolär-rhetorische Analyse des Galaterbriefs*, ConBNT 30 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1999).

⁶⁹⁷ According to Martyn, Paul does not claim Jesus's death as the substitutionary atonement for sins. While it is true that Paul usually employs the singular form of ἁμαρτία rather than the plural form, this does not make it alien to Pauline theology (nor is this a decisive argument for a pre-Pauline confession in verse four). Indeed, the significance of Christ's

process of salvation history;⁶⁹⁸ (2) the Christ-event removes the Galatians' moral guilt and absolves them of their sins; and (3) Christ's death is for the purpose of (ὅπως) and enables Paul and the Galatian believers to exit this evil present age and enter into the hopeful existence of the age⁶⁹⁹ to come, or the new creation.

The doxology in Philippians 4:19-20 associates Christ as the *doxa* in which all the Philippians' needs will be met. By using the prepositional construction ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,⁷⁰⁰ Paul underscores both the current character of the *doxa* of Christ and the eschatological participation of believers in the *doxa* of Christ.⁷⁰¹ The purpose of this doxology is again to show that the vindication of God's *doxa* takes place through Christ, the very *doxa* of God upon whom the Philippian believers' eschatological hope is based.

work as accomplishing *the forgiveness of sins* is commonly expressed elsewhere as a foundational Pauline understanding (e.g. Rom 3:25, 4:25; 5:8; 8:32; 1 Cor 15:3; 2 Cor 5:21; 1 Thess 5:10; cf. Eph 5:2, 25; 1 Tim 2:6; Tit 2:14). Martyn says that Paul uses the plural of ἀμαρτία only in 1 Corinthians 15:3, 17, Romans 7:5 and Galatians 1:4. He overlooks, however, the following usages: Romans 4:7; 11:27. It is true that the text does not mention "forgiveness," but it seems probable that Paul assumes it here. It seems speculative to draw a line between pre-Pauline worship liturgy and Paul's own penned interpretation in the middle of verse four. Martyn himself notes from Dahl several counterarguments for 4b being a part of a confession. His own answers to these arguments admit that there is no proven lexical evidence from Pauline texts to support his argument. It is certainly possible that the last part of the confession, the doxology, is included in the original liturgical confession as well. Paul usually uses verbs like σῶζω, ῥύομαι, ἐλευθερώω, or ἀγοράζω to communicate God's saving work in Christ for the forgiveness of sins (Bruce, *Galatians*, 75). This is the only time he uses ἐξαίρω to express such a salvific work. According to Bruce, the choice of ἐξαίρω intentionally expresses the already known formula to Galatian churches. His purpose is hardly to ignore or to avoid expressing the removal of the moral guilt of believers.

⁶⁹⁸ Simultaneously with Christ's intentional and voluntary death, communicated by the reflective pronoun, ἐαυτὸν (himself), Paul highlights the fact that this happened according to the will of God, of their Father (κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν). For Paul, there is no contradiction between Christ's submissive obedience and God's purposeful will. They go together. Indeed this combination is *the reason* for the doxology.

⁶⁹⁹ The distinction between "this evil age" and "the age to come" is already present in Second Temple Judaism (4 Ezra 7:50; 5:55; 7:12-13; 14:20) and in the Qumran community (1 QpHab 5:7s; CD 15:7; 1 QH 13:11), and is consistent with Paul found in Romans 12:2 (cf. 1 Cor 1:20; 2:12; 3:19; 7:31 for the use of κόσμος as a synonym for αἰῶν). Longenecker, *Galatians*, 7-9. Jukka Thurén, *Uuden testamentin kommentaarisarja: Galatalaiskirje ja Filippiläiskirje* (Helsinki: Sley kirjät, 1993), 15. According to Martyn, "this evil age" corresponds with an "apocalyptic frame of reference" (Gal 1:12; 15-16; 2:2) where the new creation invades the present evil age. In other words, these terms are not opposite of each other; rather, Christ's coming into the world overcame the evil age (Gal. 3:23, 24, 25; 4:4,60). Martyn, *Galatians*, 91-105.

⁷⁰⁰ Peter O'Brien lists four possible ways to understand the dative prepositional construction: in a local sense describing the realm or the sphere of Christ that is located in the heavenly; in a temporal sense describing the eschatological consummation of the glorious life as a reward; in an adverbial sense qualifying the πληρώω verb; and in an adjectival manner qualifying the previous τὸ πλοῦτος noun, namely "glorious wealth." O'Brien, *Philippians*, 548.

⁷⁰¹ It seems somewhat apparent that this dative construction is qualifying the πληρώω verb. I believe no distinction is necessary between a local and a temporal interpretation. Πληρώω, a verbal future construction πληρώσει, seems to refer to an eschatological hope of consummation. A question remains: Does Paul refer to the ultimate instant arrival of Christ Jesus to change the Philippian believers' bodies into his glory as described in 3:20-3:21 or does Paul refer to a progressive meeting of the needs of Philippian believers already in the glory of Christ Jesus at the present time? The answer lies in the context. Paul gives thanks to the Philippian believers for their generous gift that he received through Epaphroditus (Phil 3:10-18). As a consequence, they will receive as a reward *the presence* of the glory of Christ already now (local) and also *a future ultimate glorification* (local and temporal) in the eschatological reality.

In Romans 16:25-27 Paul highlights the Christ-event and its proclamation as the means for vindicating the *doxa* of God. It is best to see the two descriptions, namely κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου and τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as complementary to each other because καὶ (and) connects two phrases exegetically. Paul has already referred to the gospel (εὐαγγέλιόν) eight times in his letter.⁷⁰² He identifies himself as the one who has been set apart for the gospel of God (Rom 1:1), also called the Gospel of His son (Rom 1:9), of which He is not ashamed (Rom 1:16). The content of this Gospel needs to be preached to all the nations (Rom 1:15; 10:15; 15:16, 19, 20) that he has been specifically called to, and thus he calls it “my Gospel” (Rom 2:16; cf. 2 Tim 2:8).⁷⁰³ Not everyone, though, will obey it (Rom 10:16), and thus it causes God to judge, through Christ (Rom 2:16), the secrets of men, including the Israelites, who are the enemies of the Gospel despite the part this ethnic group played in the in the salvation history (Rom 11:28). More specifically, τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is a description and further clarification of the Gospel. It is preferable to take Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive or a genitive of reference to signify the proclamation in reference to the work of Christ as the *doxa* of God as explained earlier in the letter (Rom 3:21-11:25) rather than as Jesus’s teachings. Given the space in which Paul focuses on the work of Christ, it seems obvious that he highlights it one more time here at the end of the letter.⁷⁰⁴ Thus, the Christ-event vindicates God’s *doxa* and forms the foundation for the doxology.

5.1.3. Doxologies in Light of Paul’s Opponents

Doxologies also deal with Paul’s opponents and competing worldviews. The possibly intentional placement of the doxology at the beginning of Paul’s letter to the Galatians emphasizes his superior message compared to those who are distorting the Gospel. He also uses a doxology to motivate the Philippians to identify with and to experience Christ’s suffering and glorification in midst of opposition. Additionally, Paul engages the Stoic worldview in his doxology in Romans to clarify the Gospel.

⁷⁰² Rom 1:1, 9; 2:16; 10:16; 11:28; 15:16, 19.

⁷⁰³ See Schreiner, *Romans*, 811. Cranfield, *Romans*, 810 calls it complementary. According to Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 754, this refers to Paul’s “personal way of announcing.” According to Moo, “When Paul refers to ‘my gospel,’ he does not mean a particular form of teaching peculiar to him, but the gospel, common to all Christians, which has been entrusted by God to Paul for his preservation and proclamation.” Moo, *Romans*, 155.

⁷⁰⁴ Usually, commentators refer to this as an objective genitive (a proclamation *about* Jesus; Murray, *Romans*, 240; Cranfield, *Romans*, 810; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 914; Moo, *Romans*, 938; Schreiner, *Romans*, 812) rather than a subjective genitive (Jesus’s proclamation). See Schlatter, *TDNT* II, 731. See also Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 127-128.

Eduard Norden posited as early as 1913 that the literary structure of Romans 11:36 closely resembles the writings of some Greek Stoic philosophers.⁷⁰⁵ In recent Pauline studies, the Stoic influence upon Pauline writings has been highlighted.⁷⁰⁶ Besides parallel Pauline texts,⁷⁰⁷ and possible similarities in Philo,⁷⁰⁸ resemblance can be found to Greek Stoic writings that have a similar structure with Paul's text in 11:36a: ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. For example, the second-century Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius writes in his meditations:

Everything harmonizes with me, which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early nor too late, which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature: *from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return* (ὦ φύσις ἐκ σου πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σε πάντα). The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and wilt not thou say, Dear city of Zeus? (Marcus Aurelius, *The Meditations* 4.23)

⁷⁰⁵ Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), 240-250.

⁷⁰⁶ Troels Engberg-Pedersen in his monologue *Paul and the Stoics* makes the most extreme claim, saying the Pauline worldview in its entirety is influenced and covered by Stoic philosophy. Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*. See also Troels Engberg-Pedersen "The Relationship with Others: Similarities and Differences between Paul and Stoicism," *ZNW* 96 (Jan 2005): 35-60; See also Tuomas Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, and Ismo Dunderberg, eds. *Stoicism in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), contra Philip Esler, "Paul and Stoicism: Romans 12 as a Test Case," *NTS* 50 (2004): 106-124. Engberg-Pedersen considers the Stoic ethic as the hermeneutical key for understanding Paul. Indeed, Engberg-Pedersen's statement regarding the Stoic understanding of *doxa* proves how Paul's view of *doxa* is very different from Stoic thinking: "The first thing that a Stoic would say is probably that τιμή is something different from δόξα. In particular, τιμή has nothing to do with getting honour (δόξα) for oneself. δόξα is at most something to be preferred and taken – and hence no good at all – and indeed, on the official line it only had a purely instrumental value. τιμή, by contrast, is a good – in relation to others. For the next thing a Stoic would say is probably that τιμή is in principle something to be given to others, or more precisely, it is the act of deeming others worthy of the γέρας (gift of honour) that is the ἄθλον (prize) for their beneficial virtue." Engberg-Pedersen, "The Relationship with Others: Similarities and Differences between Paul and Stoicism," 56.

⁷⁰⁷ The structure is not without its parallels in Pauline literature. There are at least three parallel texts in undisputed Pauline letters and two similar structures in disputed Pauline writings. "For us there is one God, the father, *from whom all things* [ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα] are and we [exist] for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom all things [δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα] [exist] and we [exist] through him" (1 Cor 8:6, my translation); "For just as the woman is from the man, the same way the man is also through the woman. But *all things are from God* [πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ]" (1 Cor 11:12, my translation). "For he put all things under his feet. But when he says that 'all things' are put in his subjection, it is evident that that excepts the one who put all things under him. When all things are subjected under him, then the son himself is subjected to the one who is subjecting *all things to him* [αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα], so that God may be *all in all* [πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν]" (1 Cor 15:27-28, my translation); cf. "All things were created through him [τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ] and for him [εἰς αὐτόν]" (Col 1:16, my translation); "There is one God and a father of all, the one who is over all and through all and in all [εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν]" (Eph 4:6, my translation). See also Hebrews 2:10b: "δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι." Richard Horsley and Ronald Cox have noted the differences between the Stoic *Allmachtsformeln* and 1 Corinthians 8:6. Richard Horsley, "Background of the Confessional Formula in 1 Cor 8:6," *ZNW* 69 (1978): 130-135; Ronald Cox, *By the Same Word: Creation and Salvation in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 145-148.

⁷⁰⁸ Philo uses a similar kind of language: "the division of the animal into limbs shows plainly that all things are but one, or that they are derived from one, and dissolved into one (ἐν τὰ πάντα ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἐνός τε καὶ εἰς ἐν)." Philo, *Special Laws* I, 208.

Huttunen calls Paul a Christian Stoic due to similarity of terminology and values.⁷⁰⁹ He emphasizes that Paul's relationship to ancient philosophies, including the Stoics was neither fully for nor against. He lived among this philosophy to embrace some of the terminology⁷¹⁰ and values, including some of the naturalistic elements. Huttunen points clearly, however, to some notable differences in the Pauline view. Unlike in Stoicism, there is only one God and all worship towards polytheist gods is forbidden. Also, Christ's atoning work, the central piece of Paul's worldview, is very different from that of Stoic thinkers.⁷¹¹ Huttunen concludes, "Stoic natural theology and teaching about life in accordance to nature is interesting to him [Paul] only until they serve his main message. Then they are forgotten."⁷¹² Similarly, Bruce Metzger acknowledges the resemblance between Paul and Stoic rhetorical forms without equating their worldviews:

Like other educated men of his day, the apostle Paul was acquainted with a certain amount of Stoic teaching. . . . Paul's letters contain occasional phrases that have a Stoic ring. . . . At the same time, however, the parallelism is more in the realm of words than basic ideas, for the theological presuppositions and the springs of Paul's actions were very different from those of a Stoic philosopher.⁷¹³

So, while the formulation in Romans 11:36 of God as the source (ἐξ), sustainer (δι'), and goal (εἰς) of all things is similar to Stoicism,⁷¹⁴ Paul probably picked out this language from the Jewish synagogue and Hellenistic Judaism.⁷¹⁵ Paul does use Stoic language and structure, and in this manner he reveals the influence of his contemporaries. Paradoxically, such texts in Stoic thought communicated the pantheistic worldview. Paul, on the other hand, uses similar language to underscore the distinction, not the similarity, between the Creator and his creation. Therefore, while Paul's language resonates with that of the Stoics, his worldview and his concept of God seem to be influenced more by the Jewish Scriptures.⁷¹⁶ Paul's point here is to underscore that God is the source of all things and the creator of the world. God *gives* to his creation rather than receives from it. God is the *source* by which all things happen. God is also the *goal* (εἰς) of all things, including creation, judgment, and salvation.

⁷⁰⁹ Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law*, 20-36; Huttunen, *Uusi testamentti ja antiikin filosofia*, 61.

⁷¹⁰ Dunn notes some parallelism between the Book of Romans and Stoic thought. For example, he mentions the antithetical words ἄφθαρτος / φθαρτός found in Romans 1:23, and the phrase καθό δεῖ in Romans 8:26, which had a Stoic sound. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 62.

⁷¹¹ Huttunen, *Uusi testamentti ja antiikin filosofia*, 68-69.

⁷¹² Ibid., 69 [my translation]. Originally written in Finnish, it reads, "Stoalainen luonnollinen teologia ja opetus luonnonmukaisuudesta kiinnostavat häntä vain sen aikaa, kun ne palvelevat hänen pääsanomaansa. Sitten ne unohtuvat."

⁷¹³ This excerpt is taken from DeSilva, "Paul and the Stoa: A Comparison," 549.

⁷¹⁴ See Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 697-704 and Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 240-250;

⁷¹⁵ Cox, *By the Same Word*, 147-148; Moo, *Romans*, 743.

⁷¹⁶ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 634.

Indeed, the understanding of Paul's *doxa* motif argued in this dissertation clarifies Paul's use of Stoic language. The intrinsic presence of the *doxa* of God is displayed in the derived image of the *doxa* of God. Paul has identified Christ as sharing both God's intrinsic *doxa* and his displayed *doxa*. Thus, God in his *doxa* still stays distinct from his creation, yet idolaters are reconciled through Christ's *doxa* to identify with the *doxa* of God.

I will now turn to the effects of the vindication of God's glory highlighted in Paul's exhortation passages, where he invokes his audience to glorify God in their lives.

5.2. Paul's Paraenesis in Light of the Vindication of the *Doxa* of God through Christ

The purpose of this section is to explore Paul's paraenetic⁷¹⁷ hortatory passages in light of his *doxa* motif. I will take into account both the passages that have been explored extensively in the past chapters (Phil 2-3) and also other passages (1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 8-9; 1 Thess 2) that focus more narrowly on ethical instructions. My purpose is to answer the question: What are the ethical implications of the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ to those who identify with Christ?

Identity formation is an important and current topic in Pauline studies. The conversation regarding the motifs and backgrounds behind identity formation is voluminous.⁷¹⁸ I have argued throughout this dissertation that Paul inherited the *doxa* narrative from the Jewish Scriptures with certain identifiable characters attached to the word. The *doxa* of the Lord described the character of Israel's God. In the stories that Paul inherited, the *doxa* expression was also attributed to Adam, Israel, and the eschatological Servant. Paul identifies the crucified and resurrected Christ as both the intrinsic *doxa* of God and as the derived image and *doxa* of God. Furthermore, the eschatological transformation of Jews and Gentiles alike is found through their associating themselves with Christ, and thus participating in the *doxa* of Christ. Paul intentionally encourages

⁷¹⁷ Brian S. Rosner asks appropriately, "What is the origin of Paul's ethics? In other words, in what tradition does Paul stand when he regulates conduct in the churches? To what extent does he depend upon the Jewish Scriptures? Does his counsel bear a close resemblance to early Jewish moral teaching that built upon exhortations of Scripture? Or did Paul simply jettison his Jewish inheritance when he became a Christian apostle?" Brian S. Rosner, "'The Pattern of Teaching' – Issues and Essays in Pauline Ethics," in *Understanding Paul's Ethics: Twentieth-Century Approaches*, ed. Brian S. Rosner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 5.

⁷¹⁸ The influence of William Campbell cannot be ignored. See, for example, William S. Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity*, LNTS 322 (London: T & T Clark, 2006); William S. Campbell, "Gentile Identity and Transformation in Christ according to Paul," in *The Making of Christianity: Conflict, Contacts, and Constructions*, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series, ed. M. Zetterholm and S. Byrskog (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Kathy Ehrensperger and J. Brian Tucker, eds., *Reading in Context: Explorations in Identity Formation – Essays in Honour of William S. Campbell*, LNTS 428 (London: T & T Clark, 2010).

his audience to identify with the *doxa* of Christ through the cross and resurrection. The following ethical imperatives follow and flow out of this identification with Christ's glory.

Before detecting the specific ethical implications, it is pivotal to note that Paul considers trust in God to be the *means* to glorify God. Whereas idolatry serves as the foundation for not glorifying God (Rom 1:23), Paul portrays Abraham as an example of one who considers that trusting in God as the promised keeper is the way to glorify God:

No unbelief made him waver concerning the promise of God, but he grew strong in *his faith as he gave glory to God* [δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ] fully convinced that God was able to do what he had promised. That is why his faith was “counted to him as righteousness.” But the words “it was counted to him” were not written for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be counted to us who believe in him who raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was delivered up for our trespasses and raised for our justification. (Rom 4:20-24)

Trusting in God's promises fulfilled in Christ glorifies God.

As the first ethical implication for the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ, Paul urges Christ-believers to conform to the image and *doxa* of Christ in their present lives. While Paul continually refers to the believer's ultimate glorification as a future climactic event at the *parousia* of Christ, he persistently challenges Christ-followers to a current and continuous metamorphosis, a transformation into Christ-likeness.

The basis of this transformation is Christ's fulfilment as the second Adam and the eschatological Servant. Believers in Philippi are given a paraenesis of the vindication of God's glory based on Christ's obedience, death, and resurrection. In other words, *because* Christ made himself nothing, became a servant, humbled and emptied himself, and was “obedient unto death,” believers are urged to have the same mind (“have *this mind* among yourselves, which is yours *in Christ Jesus*”; Phil 2:5).⁷¹⁹ As I showed in chapter four, this mind is the opposite of the mind of the fallen Adam. Furthermore, believers who possess this second Adam-glory mind “consider others better than themselves” and humble themselves before God and others. In his letter to the Romans, Paul argues that because of Christ's obedience, believers are free from condemnation and are able to become the likeness of Christ's glory both in baptism and obedience (Rom 6:1-6). Moreover, because Christ welcomes believers for the glory of God, they are free to welcome one another (Rom 15:6) for God's glory. Because Christ glorified God, Jews and Gentiles are also capable of doing so with one voice (Rom 15:7-13).

⁷¹⁹ Robert L. Brawley, “From Reflex to Reflection? Identity in Philippians 2.6-11 and Its Context,” in *Reading Paul in Context: Explorations in Identity Formation: Essays in Honour of William S. Campbell*, LNTS 428, ed. Kathy Ehrensperger and J. Brian Tucker (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 128-146. See also Nebreda's recent study on identity formation based on Christ's identity. Nebreda, *Christ-Identity: A Social-Scientific Reading of Philippians 2.5-11*.

Marvin Pate has convincingly shown that Paul considers the transformation to Adamic glory as taking place through suffering.⁷²⁰ This suffering was true in Paul's own experience and in his admonitions to believers. Pate examines numerous passages; the ones that deal with glory and suffering and are therefore relevant to this study are 1 Corinthians 15:21-49, Romans 5:1-11, 6:1-11, 8:17-39, and Philippians 2:5-11, 3:10-21. In all the aforementioned texts, Pate notes the tri-level relationship of suffering: that of Christ, Paul, and believers in general.⁷²¹ Paul highlights Christ's suffering as the foundation and model for what he and other believers will be called to endure.⁷²² In Philippians, Paul describes Christ as being "obedient unto death," and it is this kind of suffering and death to which Paul himself summons his readers as well.⁷²³ They are to become the likeness of Christ's *doxa* through their afflictions.⁷²⁴ Similarly, in Romans 6, believers are described as "dying with Christ": "We were buried with him by baptism into death" (Rom 6:4).⁷²⁵ Moreover, the sufferings that the Roman believers seem to encounter "are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us" (Rom 8:18). While Pate ignores the 2 Corinthians 3-4 *doxa* passage in this regard,⁷²⁶ he nevertheless shows how the identification with and transformation into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ through suffering is a pinnacle in all the aforementioned passages.

As the second ethical implication for the vindication of the glory of God, Paul uses the word *vainglory* in Philippians 2:3 (κενοδοξία) and in Galatians 5:26 (κενόδοξος; cf. Did. 3:5) to contrast the transformation into likeness with the glory of Christ with the vainglorious mindset:

Do nothing from selfish ambition or vainglory [κενοδοξίαν], but in humility count others more significant than yourselves. (Phil 2:3, my translation)

If we live by the Spirit, let us also keep in step with the Spirit. Let us not become vainglorious [κενόδοξοι] provoking one another, envying one another. (Gal 5:26, my translation)

⁷²⁰ Pate, *The Glory of Adam and the Afflictions of the Righteous*.

⁷²¹ Ibid., 196ff.

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Peter Oakes considers suffering to be the governing theme in Philippians. See Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, SNTS 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁷²⁴ Gorman describes Philippians 2:6-11 as "a missional Christology for a missional people. The Church is to become the gospel by participating in it." Gorman, *Becoming the Gospel*, 109.

⁷²⁵ A. J. M. Wedderburn has shown conclusively that any suggestion to consider mystery cults to be the primary background for the Romans 6 passage is a "dead-end." A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection: Studies in Pauline Theology against Its Graeco-Roman Background*, WUNT 44 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 396. See also David Seeley, *The Noble Death: Greco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation*, JSNT Supp 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).

⁷²⁶ See Kar Yong Lim's study of narrative structure in the sufferings of Christ. Kar Yong Lim, *The Sufferings of Christ Are Abundant in Us: A Narrative Dynamics Investigation of Paul's Sufferings in 2 Corinthians* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 97-122.

Scholarship has neglected the negative aspect of the use of these words in light of Paul's *doxa* motif. Paul considers vainglorious activity to be a dehumanizing model. To portray the image and *doxa* of God, is humbly to consider others more important than oneself. The vainglorious activity is the opposite, involving envy and doing things merely out of selfish ambition.⁷²⁷ This usage is synonymous with Paul's statement about himself and his partners, who did not "seek glory [δόξαν] from people, whether from you or from others, though we could have made demands as apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6). Therefore, Paul calls all believers in Galatia, Philippi, and Thessalonica to identify themselves with the pattern of Christ as the image and *doxa* of God.

Pauline restored sexual ethics in relation to the *doxa* seems to reflect the notion of sexuality in Genesis 1-3 (see Rom 1:21-28; 1 Cor 6:12-20; cf. 1 Cor 11:3-11). This is the third ethical implication of the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ. Sexual ethics in light of the two *doxa* passages seems to indicate that the vindication of God's *doxa* in believers' lives includes a return to the creational mode of sex. Paul considered engaging in a same-sex relationship as the outcome of idolatry, argued from the Genesis narrative, and thus not something that glorifies God (Rom 1). Paul also warns believers not to practice *porneia* because sexual engagement, a pattern after the creational narrative, is a close picture of the unity of Christ and church for God's glory.

I discussed Romans 1 in detail in chapter four. I argued that according to Paul same-sex relationships – among other vices – are an expression of idolatry rooted in the Genesis 3 and Exodus 20 stories. These stories that were inherited from the Jewish Scriptures are now applied to Paul's contemporary audience.

According to Dale Martin and David Fredrickson, Paul advocates passionless sexual activity in marriage, and this view undergirds Paul's comments on same-sex activity in Romans 1.⁷²⁸ J. Edward Ellis has, however, convincingly argued that Second Temple Judaism as well as Greek and Roman moralists and philosophers did not view the ideal sexuality as passionless.⁷²⁹ Thus, Paul should not be understood as an advocate of emotionless sex. Rather, Paul's sexual ethic

⁷²⁷ Cf. Philo, *The Special Laws* I, 27. "Why need I explain how unstable the wealth and pride of men are, which vain opinions (κενὰ δόξα) decorate with showy colours."

⁷²⁸ Dale B. Martin, "Heterosexism and the Interpretation of Romans 1:18-32," *BibInt* 3 (1995): 332-55; Dale Martin, "Paul without Passion: On Paul's Rejection of Desire in Sex and Marriage," in *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor*, ed. Halvor Moxnes (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 201-5; David Fredrickson, "Natural and Unnatural Use in Romans 1:24-27: Paul and the Philosophic Critique of Eros," in *Homosexuality, Science, and the 'Plain Sense' of Scripture*, ed. David L. Balch (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 197-222; cf. David Fredrickson, "Passionless Sex in 1 Thessalonians 4:4-5," *Word & World* Vol 23, Nr 1 (Winter 2003): 23-30 and Philo, *That the Worse Attacks the Better*, 167-174.

⁷²⁹ J. Edward Ellis, *Paul and Ancient Views of Sexual Desire: Paul's Sexual Ethics in 1 Thessalonians 4, 1 Corinthians 7 and Romans 1*, LNTS 354 (London: T & T Clark, 2007). Cf. Will Deming, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 45-46.

in Romans 1 is argued from the creation and Israel narratives that considered sexual engagement to take place in the relationship between male and female.

Not only does Romans 1 show that sexual engagement with the same sex is seen as the result of not glorifying God, but also in 1 Corinthians Paul engages the issue of sexuality in relation to *doxa*. In 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 Paul applies the creational sexual ethic to his contemporary culture by appealing to his audience to have appropriate sexual relationships and by motivating them to glorify God.⁷³⁰ Paul's ethical hortative exhortations to motivate believers to glorify God are based on the Genesis narrative. Indeed Paul quotes Genesis 2:26 LXX in 1 Corinthians 6:15:

"All things are lawful for me," but not all things are helpful. "All things are lawful for me," but I will not be dominated by anything. "Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food"—and God will destroy both one and the other. The body is not meant for sexual immorality, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And God raised the Lord and will also raise us up by his power. Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? Never! Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, "The two will become one flesh." But he who is joined to the Lord becomes one spirit with him. Flee from sexual immorality. Every other sin a person commits is outside the body, but the sexually immoral person sins against his own body. Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, whom you have from God? You are not your own, for you were bought with a price. So *glorify* [δοξάσατε] God in your body. (1 Cor 6:12-20)

Again, like in 1 Corinthians 11, Paul portrays the union between the Lord, namely Christ, and believers to be previewed by the male and woman relationship described in the Genesis story.⁷³¹ Sexual oneness is equated with the believers' unity with Christ because the shared identity with Christ is the shared unity of Christ's *doxa*.⁷³² Thus, to glorify God in one's body is to practice sexuality in the Genesis covenant-type relationship between male and female;⁷³³ therefore Paul rebukes Corinthian believers for sexual engagement with prostitutes, for it takes place outside of the covenant relationship.

⁷³⁰ J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Corinthian Slogans in 1 Cor 6:12-20," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 391-6.

⁷³¹ Folker Blischke discusses the importance of the Torah in this regard. Folker Blischke, "Reminder as an Approach of Pauline Ethics: Paul in an Old Testament and Hellenistic Line of Tradition," in *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul*, JNTS 473 (London: T & T Clark, 2012), 41-58.

⁷³² Ephesians 5:21-30, a notable disputed Pauline text, follows the same logic and also contains the same Genesis passage. Scholars often neglect to note that the author of Ephesians also uses the δόξα derivative word ἐνδοξος to describe the church's eschatological status as a bride of Christ to motivate husbands to care for their wives (Eph 5:27). To do so is to return to the displayed glory of God.

⁷³³ Susan A. Ross uses the phrase "Then honor God in your body" from 1 Corinthians 6:20 in an article title to argue "that recent feminist theological writing on the body offers a corrective to the historical and dualistic understanding of the body prevalent in Roman Catholic theology." Unfortunately she ignores the exegetical issues of 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 altogether. Susan A. Ross, "Then Honor God in Your Body" (1 Cor 6:20): Feminist and Sacramental Theology on the Body," *Horizons* 16 no 1 (Spring 1989): 7-27.

Brian S. Rosner convincingly shows that Paul not only quotes a verse from Genesis 2:24, but in 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 he also alludes to other Jewish Scriptures to justify his position about refraining from fornication in order to glorify God.⁷³⁴ The Joseph-Potiphar's wife narrative (Gen 39:9), the God-Israel relationship described in the Prophets, the Hosea-Gomer story found in Hosea 3:1-3,⁷³⁵ and the strictly stated premise against sexual engagements with prostitutes (Lev 19:29) are some of the most apparent background narratives for Paul to draw from as he teaches against fornication. The most identifiable parallel in terms of *doxa* is found in the *Testament of Joseph* 8:5, where Joseph is recorded as stating, "she came and heard the report how I gave thanks to the Lord and sang praise in the house of darkness and how I rejoiced with cheerful voice, *glorifying my God*."⁷³⁶

The significance of these Scriptural allusions⁷³⁷ is apparent. Paul considers foundation and justification for believers' sexual engagement that glorifies God to be grounded in the Genesis creation narrative, Israel's relation to God, and the unisonous participation between Christ and believers.⁷³⁸ To conclude, Paul's sexual ethic seems to be a restoration to a Genesis pre-fall narrative sexual ethic that reflects and displays the *doxa* of God. Moreover, the relationships between God and Israel and Christ and believers establish the foundation for Paul's ethical exhortations on how to glorify God in one's body.⁷³⁹

As the fourth ethical outcome of the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ, Paul emphasizes the missional movement⁷⁴⁰ among Jews and Gentile as a witness to unbelievers to

⁷³⁴ Rosner is worth quoting as he concludes his study by stating, "The present study asserts that the Jewish Scriptures and related early Jewish moral traditions played an important role in the formation of Paul's paraenesis. In 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 this can be observed in the way Paul conceives of the sin of *porneia* as unfaithfulness to the Lord, a sin against Jewish and Christian hope, a sin against Christ, a treacherous sin, a dangerous sin, a sin against the Spirit, a dishonoring sin, and a unique sin." Brian S. Rosner, *Paul, Scripture & Ethics: A Study of 1 Corinthians 5-7*, Biblical Studies Library (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 145.

⁷³⁵ George Klein, "Hos 3:1-3—background to 1 Cor 19-20?" *Criswell Theological Review* 3 (Spring 1989): 373-375.

⁷³⁶ I am indebted to Brian S. Rosner for this reference. He also argues that there is a reference to the Testament of Reuben 5:5. See Brian S. Rosner, "A Possible Quotation of Test[ament of] Reuben 5:5 in 1 Corinthians 6:18a," *JTS* 43 no 1 (April 1992): 123-127. Cf. *Joseph and Aseneth* 19:5, where Aseneth's parents glorify God after seeing her in her wedding dress.

⁷³⁷ This is not to say that Paul does not engage with pagan culture in 1 Corinthians 6:12-20 as well. Meiser puts it well: "Biblically grounded early Jewish and Greco-Roman arguments are found side by side in the following verses as well. . . . Biblical and Greco-Roman traditions also stand next to each other in 1 Cor. 6.12-20." Martin Meiser, "The Torah in the Ethics of Paul," in *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul*, JNTS 473 (London: T & T Clark, 2012), 129-130.

⁷³⁸ For further study in this aspect of Pauline theology, see, for example, Daniel. G. Powers, *Salvation through Participation: An Examination of the Notion of the Believers' Corporate Unity with Christ in Early Christian Soteriology*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

⁷³⁹ Against Engberg-Pedersen, who boldly states that "major obstacles to finding coherence in Paul's ideas that scholars have stumbled against throughout much of the 20th century can be sufficiently removed once one reads Paul – the whole Paul, not just this and that fairly restricted motif – in the light of Stoicism and the ancient ethical tradition generally" [emphasis mine]. Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 5.

⁷⁴⁰ Brian S. Rosner argues that one of the key elements in Pauline glory theology is the missional mindset. Brian S.

display the *doxa* of God. Paul appeals strongly to believers to put their own ethnic privileges and preference aside for the benefit of building other believers in the body for the *doxa* of God (1 Cor 10:30):

“All things are lawful,” but not all things are helpful. “All things are lawful,” but not all things build up. *Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor.* Eat whatever is sold in the meat market without raising any question on the ground of conscience. For “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof. If one of the unbelievers invites you to dinner and you are disposed to go, eat whatever is set before you without raising any question on the ground of conscience. But if someone says to you, “This has been offered in sacrifice,” then do not eat it, for the sake of the one who informed you, and for the sake of conscience— I do not mean your conscience, but his. For why should my liberty be determined by someone else’s conscience? If I partake with thankfulness, why am I denounced because of that for which I give thanks? So, whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, *do all to the glory of God* [εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ]. Give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God, just as I try to please everyone in everything I do, not seeking my own advantage, but that of many, that they may be saved. (1 Cor 10:23-31)

Paul calls Jews and Gentiles to unite themselves in light of the glory of God (1 Cor 10:31). Since idolatry is the essence of sin for Paul, eating meat offered to idols is not *itself* the problem; rather, a more fundamental question is: does it lead the believers back into idolatry?⁷⁴¹ The Pauline *doxa*-ethic calls the believing community, Jews and Gentiles alike, away from sinning, namely from idolatry and back to glorifying God. Thus, the inquiry for Paul is evident: do Corinthians’ eating and drinking glorify God and build the community in the believing church among Jews and Gentiles?

In 2 Corinthians 8-9 Paul calls the Macedonians to identify with Christ and his generosity in order to glorify God and build a community among Jews and Gentiles. In a passage where *doxa* is used three times (2 Cor 8:19, 23; 9:13), Paul talks about the collection he is taking for Jewish believers residing in Jerusalem. He encourages Macedonians to be generous towards those who are different ethnically, namely the Jews. “And not only that, but he [the brother who is famous among all the churches] has been appointed by the churches to travel with us as we carry out this act of grace that is being ministered by us, *for the glory of the Lord* [τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν] himself and to show our good will” (2 Cor 8:19).

Not only is the gift itself done for the glory of God, but also Titus and the other messenger(s) are called the *doxa* of Christ: “Titus, he is my partner and fellow worker for your benefit. And as for our brothers, they are messengers of the churches, *the glory of Christ* [δόξα Χριστοῦ]” (2 Cor

Rosner, “The Glory of God in Paul’s Missionary Theology and Practice,” in *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice*, LNTS 420, ed. Trevor J. Burke and Brian S. Rosner (London: T & T Clark, 2011), 158-168.

⁷⁴¹ Sandelin, *Attraction and Danger of Alien Religion*, 122, 197.

8:23). In comparison to other Pauline *doxa* passages, this text has received less attention. It has been suggested that the *doxa* of Christ refers to the Macedonian churches⁷⁴² (rather than the delegation),⁷⁴³ men of highest repute,⁷⁴⁴ ministers of the eschatological Servant,⁷⁴⁵ the Galatian “opponents,”⁷⁴⁶ or honorific public inscriptions “shaped by the rhetorical conventions... in the eastern Mediterranean city-states.”⁷⁴⁷ The literary context, however, shows that association with the likeness of Christ’s character and his attitude⁷⁴⁸ is the *reason* they are called the *doxa* of Christ. Their transformation to the likeness of Christ’s glory is revealed in their faithful work with Paul. The action of this delegation displays the attitude of Christ and offers an example to other believers.⁷⁴⁹ Their offering exhibits the importance Paul placed on unity between Jews and Gentiles as a demonstration of glorifying God.

In addition to the gift itself engendering glory to God and to the delegates who are called the *doxa* of Christ, Paul motivates the Corinthians to show generosity in order that the recipients in Jerusalem would glorify God as well: “By their approval of this service, they⁷⁵⁰ will *glorify* [δοξάζοντες] God because of your submission that comes from your confession of the gospel of Christ, and the generosity of your contribution for them and for all others” (2 Cor 9:13). The recipients in Jerusalem⁷⁵¹ are giving thanks and glorifying God because of the generosity of the Corinthians, who through this open-handedness express submission to the Gospel. Notably, Paul

⁷⁴² Barnett, *2 Corinthians*, 424.

⁷⁴³ Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 610-612.

⁷⁴⁴ Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 395.

⁷⁴⁵ M. Carrez, *De la souffrance à la gloire* (Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1964), 90-92.

⁷⁴⁶ John C. Hurd suggests with 66 percent certainty that the Galatian opponents and the men mentioned in 2 Corinthians 8:23 are the same. John C. Hurd, “Reflections concerning Paul’s ‘Opponents’ in Galatia,” in *Paul and His Opponents*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 130-148.

⁷⁴⁷ J. R. Harrison, “The Brothers as the ‘Glory of Christ’ (2 Cor 8:23),” *NT* 52 (2010), 156.

⁷⁴⁸ John Barclay, “‘Because He Was Rich He Became Poor’: Translation, Exegesis and Hermeneutics in the Reading of 2 Cor 8.9,” in *Theologizing in the Corinthian Conflict: Studies in the Exegesis and Theology of 2 Corinthians*, ed. R. Bieringer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 331-344.

⁷⁴⁹ Isaiah 58:6-8 has a similar kind of connotation. Here the glory of the Lord covers, shelters, and protects as a consequence of the right kind of fasting, namely taking care of the homeless, the poor, and the needy. This fast is contrasted with the one where the covenant people want to impress the Lord. This passage is probably reminiscent of the cloud that protected and followed the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod 13:21-22; 16:10). “I have not chosen such a fast, says the Lord; rather loose every bond of injustice; undo the knots of contracts made by force; let the oppressed go free, and tear up every unjust note. Break your bread with the one who is hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house; if you see one naked, clothe him, and you shall not neglect any of the relatives of your own seed. Then your light shall break forth early in the morning, and your healings shall rise quickly, and your righteousness shall go before you, and *the glory of God* [ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε] shall cover you” (Is 58:6-8 LXX NETS).

⁷⁵⁰ It is not grammatically clear who is the implied subject of glorifying. For a good discussion and warranted evidence for rendering “they” or “people” as referring to the saints in Jerusalem, see Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 652-653. Note also the similarity to Acts 21:20: “when they heard it, they glorified God [ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν].”

⁷⁵¹ Harris also makes a case that this thanksgiving and glorifying God encompasses the other churches in Judea, who heard of the gift being administered. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 653.

presents the fruit of the Gospel, namely the revelation of the glory of Christ in his crucifixion and resurrection, to be expressed in thanksgiving and glorifying God and deepened unity. Paul pictures these believers being restored through transformation into the community of Christ's glory.

In addition, the church in Judea is also glorifying God on account of Paul's conversion: "They only were hearing it said, 'He who used to persecute us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy.' And *they glorified* [ἐδόξαζον] God because of me" (Gal 1:24). The difference in the outlook of Paul's opponents and that of the believers in Judah is drastically highlighted by this statement.⁷⁵² Paul intentionally underscores the praiseworthy response of the churches in Judah by using the term "glorify" here. Paul's conversion to Christ causes not only Paul, but also other believers, to glorify God in unison.

In 1 Thessalonians 2 Paul unites the eschatological kingdom of God and his glory with the exhortation to live in a worthy manner: "We exhorted each one of you and encouraged you and charged you to walk in a manner worthy of *God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory* [δόξαν]" (1 Thess 2:12). Moreover, Paul acknowledges that the Thessalonian believers will be his glory at Jesus's coming: "For what is our hope or joy or crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming? Is it not you? For you are *our glory* [ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν] and joy" (1 Thess 2:19-20; cf. Phil 2:16). These verses are yet another example how Paul relates the eschatological *parousia* of Christ with the consummation of God's *doxa* and believers' mutual participation in that. In Paul's thinking, this future consummation demands living in the present in a manner worthy of God himself.⁷⁵³ His labor is not in vain. The transformation is back to reflecting and displaying the very *doxa* of God.

5.3. Summary

This chapter explored four Pauline doxologies (Gal 1:3-5, Phil 4:19-20, Rom 11:34-3; 16:25-27) and five hortatory passages (1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 8-9; Phil 2-3; 1 Thess 2) in light of Paul's

⁷⁵² Longenecker, *Galatians*, 42. He also points out the similarity of the language found in Isaiah 49:3 LXX: "εἶπέν μοι δοῦλός μου εἰ σύ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι."

⁷⁵³ See also Gordon Fee, who states, "This kind of language in Paul places perseverance and Christian behavior in their ultimate context. Even though Paul serves as a surrogate 'father' to them, his real concern is that they learn to live in such a way that they reflect God's own character, that they are worthy children of their heavenly Father. This is not perfectionism but reality, since for Paul the goal of salvation is the restoration of Eden and the reshaping of God's people back into his own image, as that has been put on full display in the incarnation of his Son (Rom 8: 29-30). Thus the present emphasis is not on the future as such, but on their life in the present, life under God's present rule – with future glory as the ultimate goal of God's calling." Gordon Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 84. In light of Fee's statement, it is surprising that he does not connect "our glory" in 2:20 as a demonstration of the transformation into the likeness of Christ.

doxa motif. The following points summarize the significance of these doxologies and ethical passages with respect to the vindication of God's glory through Christ.

1. Paul inherited the form of his doxologies from the Jewish Scriptures and used a similar kind of literary device in his letters.
2. He highlights the essential identity of the character of the *doxa* of God in doxologies by describing God as incomprehensible, sovereign creator, sustainer, judge, and savior, who will also meet all the needs of his creation.
3. The Christ-event, namely the substitutionary death and resurrection, vindicates God's glory and gives the foundational reason for his doxologies. Again, Paul identifies Christ as *doxa*, which will also be the eschatological identity of believers.
4. Paul depicts believers as designed to give *doxa* to God, not to add something to his value, but as their response to the transformation of their humanity as the image and *doxa* of Christ. This response is patterned after the Jewish Scriptures, as my background chapter indicated, for *doxa* is used as the people's response to and the worship of the Lord in Jewish writings. Now Christ's identification as the *doxa* of God enables Paul and believers to do so.
5. Paul engages the Stoic philosophy of his contemporary times by employing a vocabulary and structure similar to Stoic philosophy in relation to some of the doxologies, yet Paul's reasons and the content of the doxology are distinct from the Stoic worldview. This may be Paul's intentional technique to notify his readers of the differences from the opposing worldview and to entreat his contemporary audience to identify with Christ.
6. The following ethical implications indicate that the vindication of God's glory through Christ has inevitable present restorative effects among those who identify themselves with Christ. Paul invokes Christ-believers to conform to the image and *doxa* of Christ in their present lives. This conformity takes place through suffering. Identification with Christ's glory is also identification with his suffering, and thus functions as a motivation in the midst of persecution.
7. Paul twice uses the word *vainglory*, in Philippians 4:3 (κενοδοξία) and in Galatians 5:26 (κενόδοξος), to contrast the transformation into likeness with the *doxa* of Christ with the vainglorious mindset. Because *doxa* can also mean identity in the neutral sense, Paul contrasts the identities of those trusting Christ's *doxa* and those whose identity and *doxa* are found elsewhere (Phil 3). According to Paul, the current ethical desires and future eschatological destinies are inevitably affected by one's identity and *doxa*.
8. For Paul, a person's sex life is inevitably affected by one's identity. Pauline sexual ethics in relation to *doxa* seem to reflect the creational sexual model found in Genesis 1-3 (Rom 1:18-25; 1 Cor 6:12-20; cf. 11:3-11). The vindication of God's glory through Christ has a restorative effect on Paul's ethics, as he calls his followers to identify with the creational order of sexuality, namely, to practice it in the covenant relationship between male and female.
9. Paul emphasizes the missional movement among Jews and Gentile as a witness to unbelievers to display the *doxa* of God. This unity demands putting other people's needs

before one's own after the pattern of Christ's glory. Additionally, generosity towards those who are different ethnically (2 Cor 8-9) glorifies God and causes the recipients to glorify God as well.

6. CONCLUSION

“The chief end of God is to glorify God and enjoy himself forever.”⁷⁵⁴

-John Piper

“Just as the caterpillar becomes a butterfly, as carbon is converted into diamond, as the grain of wheat upon dying in the ground produces other grains of wheat, as all of nature revives in the spring and dresses up in celebrative clothing, as the believing community is formed out of Adam’s fallen race, as the resurrection body is raised from the body that is dead and buried in the earth, so too, by the re-creating power of Christ, the new heaven and the new earth will one day emerge from the fire purged elements of this world, radiant in enduring glory and forever set free from the ‘bondage to decay.’”⁷⁵⁵

-Herman Bavick

6.1. Summary

Despite the frequency of its usage (δόξα and its derivatives occur 77 times in undisputed Pauline letters and 96 times altogether in Pauline literature), surprisingly few studies have been done on the *doxa* motif. Until Carey Newman’s study in 1992, no comprehensive research on Paul’s *doxa* motif had been done since Millard Berquist’s study back in 1942. Newman’s thesis about Paul’s deep *doxa* structure as God’s theophany manifested in Christ was particularly groundbreaking and illuminating. His study, accurate as it was, was limited to the *theophany* theme and, consequently, overlooked some other Pauline *doxa* motifs.

This dissertation purposed to fill the gap in scholarship in two areas: it covered all the *doxa* passages in undisputed letters, and it suggested an underexamined Pauline undergirding narrative structure that almost all the *doxa* passages exhibit. As the narrative approach has proven a constructive way to approach Pauline studies, it is surprising that up until now no study has been carried out to explore the *doxa* motif using this approach.

The following five research questions guided the study:

- (1) What are the most significant characters and events that are attached to the *doxa* motif in the Jewish Scriptures? Consequently, what kind of narrative substructure, if any, do they form?
- (2) What are the characters and events that are identified with *doxa* and how do they relate to one another in Paul’s undisputed letters?
- (3) How do the characters and the substructure of the Jewish Scriptures shape the logic of argumentation in the particular passages where Paul mentions *doxa*?

⁷⁵⁴ John Piper, *Desiring God: Meditations of a Christian Hedonist* (Sisters: Multnomah Publishers, 2003), 31.

⁷⁵⁵ Herman Bavick, *Reformed Dogmatics*, Vol 4 (Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2008), 717.

- (4) How does Paul *develop* and *redefine* the narrative *doxa* motif in light of the Christ-event and the contemporary context, namely in the midst of the imperial cult that he faces?
- (5) How does Paul want his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify with characters in the story?

The dissertation was divided into six chapters. Chapter one gave the parameters to this study by discussing methodological issues, presenting the history of the research, and justifying the narrative approach as a valid methodology to explore the *doxa* motif in Paul.

Chapter two examined the relevant background for the Pauline understanding of *doxa*. I explored mainly the Septuagint use of *doxa*, yet also brought up relevant passages from other Jewish Second Temple literature and Greco-Roman background writings. The primary purpose of this chapter was to discover the semantic range and the various usages of *doxa* in the Septuagint.

The examination showed that there is a wide semantic range covered by the different Hebrew words translated as *doxa* in the Septuagint. The translators had a tendency to translate *kabod* as *doxa* in light of its positive connotations. While the word that is most commonly translated *doxa* is *kabod* and its derivatives, twenty-nine other Hebrew words are translated into *doxa*. Thus, the semantic range of *doxa* is not limited to honor, but also includes connotations such as aesthetic beauty, riches and wealth, either figurative or literal majestic strength and heaviness, a visible manifestation, separateness and holiness, and form and likeness.

After examining the semantic range, I discussed the various uses of *doxa* in the Jewish Scriptures. First, *doxa* is used in the profane sense in reference to material wealth, beauty, identity, or the honor of a person or a nation. Second, *doxa* is associated with the intrinsic character, identity, and *theophany* of the Lord. In other words, the glory of the Lord refers both to his aesthetic brightness and to his moral character. Third, *doxa* is attributed to Moses, to Adam, to the kings, and to Israel. While the relationship between the Lord's intrinsic glory and the glory attributed to other characters is ambivalent, it is the Lord that crowns, gives and bestows glory to them. Fourth, there is an anticipation of the vindication of the *doxa* of the Lord, manifested in the restoration of the derived glory displayed in Adam, Israel's royal kings, the covenant community, and the eschatological Servant. Fifth, *doxa* is also used as the people's response to and worship of the Lord in Jewish writings. I suggested that the *doxa* narrative that Paul inherited had these five characteristics.

Second Temple literature confirms the use of *doxa* in Jewish thought closer to Paul's time. While all the same categories were found as with the Septuagint, special attention was paid to the

merging of the Adam-glory motif. In this development, the eschatological Adam figure will complete the purpose of the original Adam.

Finally, I summarized the latest scholarly discussion of the use of *doxa* in the Greco-Romans context. By recapitulating the research of Harrison and Hellerman, I showed that Paul probably intentionally applied *doxa* language and the *doxa* motif to contrast the Christ-event and its implications with ancestral nobility and the imperial cult's use of *doxa* when referring to the Emperor.

The purpose of chapter three was to show how Paul understood Adam (i.e. humanity) as the derived *doxa* and the image of God. I explored three relevant Pauline passages (Rom 1-3; 1 Cor 11:2-16; 1 Cor 15:39-50) in light of God's derived *doxa*, and showed how the Pauline understanding of *doxa* is drawn primarily from the creation of Adam and Israel stories in these three texts.

Paul describes God's intrinsic and essential character as *doxa*. His description is patterned after his understanding of the Jewish Scriptures, where God's *doxa* was defined as His aesthetic, moral, and transcendent holiness displayed in His presence that was revealed in His dwelling places, namely in Sinai, the tabernacle, and the temple. Paul redefines God's *doxa*, especially in Romans 1 and 9, as God's intrinsic character of weightiness that is highlighted in His divine presence, truth, immortality, judgment, and sovereign grace.

According to Paul, as found in the three aforementioned passages, God's intrinsic *doxa* is displayed *derivatively* in His image, in humanity. Adam, who represents all humanity, is in his pre-fallen body the *doxa* and image of God. Again, Paul did not originate the idea of humanity as God's derived *doxa*; rather, he reshaped it after the pattern found in Jewish Scriptures and developed in later Jewish writings, where God's derivative *doxa* is represented in Adam, the royal kings, and the covenant community. For Paul, humanity functions as God's representative and reflects His *doxa*: all humanity is created to glorify God, to give thanks to God, and to seek God's glory.

Gender differences, including, yet not limited to, sexual orientation, after the pattern of the creation narratives, play a surprisingly important role in defining the derivative *doxa* of humanity in the Romans 1-3 and 1 Corinthians 11 passages. Humankind was created in relation to two distinguishable genders representing the nature and the relationship of God's intrinsic and derivative *doxa*. Paul highlights the principle of the relationship in its distinct roles after God's creative order. This study showed that Paul considers the relationship between male and female conveyed by the creation story to be a concrete display, including posture and clothing, which functions as a typology of the relationship between God and humankind as an image of Him and

of His *doxa*. Because a man is the image and *doxa* of God, his main responsibility is to honor (and represent) God. Because a female is the *doxa* of the male, her main responsibility is to honor (and represent) her husband for the ultimate purpose of honoring God. Moreover, the second Adam, Christ, now represents both, God before humanity and humanity (male and female) before God, and thus functions as a head to men and women. This understanding gives a foundation for the general definition of anthropology described in Romans 1 and the practical problem in the corporate worship setting that needs to be corrected in the Corinthian church.

Paul not only refers to the Genesis creation narratives, he also alludes to Israel's creation story (found in Exodus) in Romans 1 to demonstrate congruently with Jewish Scriptures that Israel's task was to portray God's *doxa* by worshipping Him. Subsequently, Paul intentionally depicts the Genesis creation story and Israel's creation story as parallel with each other.

Additionally, Paul links the story of Israel's creation and fall to the fall of humanity, namely by showing how they lack God's representative *doxa*, a failure started in the creation narrative and demonstrated in contemporary pagan worldviews. By drawing from two distinctive narratives, namely the Adam and Israel narratives, Paul wants his Jewish and Gentile audience to identify with them respectively. The two audiences are a part of the story; they are identified with Adam and/or Israel. The common identity of Jews and Gentiles is found in their idolatry, lacking God's derivative *doxa* in their lives.

In chapter four I examined seven passages in light of the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ (1 Cor 2:6-8; 1 Cor 15:42-49; 2 Cor 1-4; Rom 5-8; Rom 9; Rom 15:6-13; Phil 2-3). A need for this vindication is due to the idolatry of Adam, Israel, and the contemporary recipients with their consequent misrepresentation of God's *glory*. For Paul, the anticipated vindication of the *doxa* of God takes place through the *doxa* of Christ. Paul inherited a Jewish tradition in relation to *doxa*: the Lord will eventually establish his eschatological kingdom of *doxa*, and He will be glorified and worshipped in Jerusalem and to the ends of the earth. Paul pictures the Christ-event, namely his suffering, crucifixion, and resurrection, as inaugurating this vindication.

Moreover, Paul describes Christ's identity as the intrinsic identity of the *doxa* of God and as the derived identity of the *doxa* of God. On the one hand, Christ shares the essential identity of God as the Lord of *doxa*. On the other hand, Christ shares the identity of the image and *doxa* of the (second and better) Adam, who represents humanity, the eschatological Servant, and Israel in order to fulfill the eschatological expectations of the Jewish Scriptures. For Paul, Christ is the one who glorifies God.

Subsequently, Paul calls his audience to identify with the crucified and resurrected Christ, who represents the *doxa* of God. Paul depicts the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ to have transformative effects on the identity of Christ believers. The Christ-event transforms humanity (including Israel and the nations) into the likeness of the *doxa* of Christ to glorify God with one voice. This transformation is not merely a return to original Adam/Moses glory; rather, possibly following a rabbinic “from the lesser to the greater” (*qal wahomer*) hermeneutic, Paul portrays Christ-glory identification as even *better* than the original Adam and Israel glory representation. According to Paul, this transformation and glorification, however, take place progressively through suffering at the present time and shall be consummated ultimately at Christ’s *parousia*. Paul considers the first Adam’s pre-fallen body to be a shadow of the glory of Christ, the firstfruit of all the believers’ resurrected *doxa* bodies (1 Cor 15:45-50). The current body of humility is compared to the eternal body of *doxa*. Furthermore, God’s revelation of Himself as *doxa* to Moses is inferior to the presence of God manifested in Christ (2 Cor 3-4). Thus, Paul does not merely refer to the restoration of humanity back to its creational *doxa*, he goes even a step further, recognizing that the eschatological *doxa* of Christ, and of those who are identified with him, is even greater than that of Adam and Moses.

For Paul, the transformation encompasses the entire creation, not only humanity. Anticipated in the Jewish Scriptures, the vindication of God’s *doxa* through the eschatological Servant will be manifested in the restoration of the entire earth. For Paul, not only believing humanity, Jews, and the nations, all those who identify themselves with Christ’s *doxa*, but also the entire creation will be restored at Christ’s *parousia* so that God’s glory will encompass his entire cosmos.

Contrary to many manifestations of God’s *doxa* in the Jewish Scripture, for Paul, God’s revelation of *doxa* takes place through suffering. Equating the affliction of Jesus with the manifestation of the Lord of glory is paradoxical, yet this is a normative pattern for Paul’s understanding of the identity of Christ as *doxa* as the means of transformation for those who identify with Christ’s glory.

Finally, Paul exposes his opponents’ different agenda and identity by contrasting the *doxa* of God in Christ and the *doxa* of his opponents, including emperors. Paul’s rhetorical strategy includes a play on the word *doxa* to highlight his message concerning the crucified and resurrected Christ.

Chapter five was divided into two parts by exploring the Pauline doxologies and the ethical hortatory passages in light of the *doxa* motif. First, I explored four Pauline doxologies that all

include the same concluding formula of ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: Galatians 1:3-5, Philippians 4:19-20, Romans 11:34-36 and 16:25-27. Paul inherited the form of his doxologies from the Jewish Scriptures and used a similar kind of literary device in his letters. Paul highlights the essential identity of the character of the *doxa* of God in doxologies by describing God as incomprehensible, sovereign creator, sustainer, judge, and savior who will also meet all the needs of his creation. Moreover, Paul depicts believers as designed to give *doxa* to God, not to add something to his value, but as their response to the metamorphosis of their humanity to the likeness of the image and *doxa* of Christ. Consequently, the Christ-event, namely the substitutionary death and physical resurrection, gives the foundational reason for Pauline doxologies. Paul also engages the Stoic philosophy of his contemporary times by employing a vocabulary and structure similar to Stoic philosophy in relation to some of the doxologies.

Lastly, I examined Paul's exhortational hortatory passages (Phil 2; Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 8-9; 1 Thess 2) in light of his *doxa* motif. Paul presents four categories of ethical implications for those who identify themselves with the *doxa* of Christ, in whom the *doxa* of God is vindicated. These paraenesises reflect Paul's restorative ethics as the display of the *doxa* of God. First, Paul exhorts Christ-believers to conform to the image and the *doxa* of Christ in their present lives. This conformity takes place through suffering. He also uses the word "vainglory" twice (Gal 5:26 [κενόδοξος]; Phil 2:3 [κενοδοξία]) to contrast the transformation into likeness with the *doxa* of Christ with the vainglorious mindset. As the third category of Pauline ethics in light of *doxa*, I showed how the restored sexual ethics seem to reflect Genesis 1-3 sexuality (Rom 1; 1 Cor 6:12-20; cf. 11:3-11). Finally, Paul emphasizes the missional movement among Jews and Gentiles as a witness to unbelievers to display the *doxa* of God. This unity demands putting other people's needs before one's own after the pattern of Christ. Also, practicing generosity towards those who are ethnically different (2 Cor 8-9) glorifies God.

By using a narrative methodological approach, this study contended that Paul inherited a *doxa* narrative from the Jewish Scriptures. In this narrative, several characters were associated with *doxa*: primarily *doxa* was associated with the *intrinsic and essential doxa* of God. *Doxa*, however, was also attributed to Moses, to Adam (i.e. humanity), to Israel, to royal kings, and to the eschatological Servant figure. Furthermore, this study suggests that there is an emerging development of the anticipation of the greater eschatological Adamic glory figure in the Hodayot literature.

The *doxa* narrative has four characters in Paul's writing: (1) God's intrinsic and essential *doxa*; (2) God's derivative *doxa* manifested in Adam and Israel characters; (3) God's intrinsic and

derived *doxa* manifested in Christ; (4) God's derivative *doxa* in believers, Jews and Gentiles alike, is manifested in their transformation into the likeness of Christ's *doxa*.

Paul describes God's intrinsic and essential character as *doxa*. A careful reading of the relevant texts reveals that the *doxa* of God can be defined as the identity of God's intrinsic character and importance highlighted in his divine presence, truth, immortality, honor, judgment, and sovereign grace. This definition is built on the Septuagint's understanding of the *doxa* of God, yet redefined by Paul's view of the vindication of God's glory through the Christ-event.

Paul wants his audience to identify with the fallen Adam and Israel figures as the ones who lack God's derived *doxa*. Paul then *redefines* and *reshapes* the narrative in light of the Christ-event, namely his crucifixion and resurrection. Christ functions *both* as God's intrinsic *doxa* and God's derived *doxa*. In other words, Paul identifies Christ with God *and* the image of God through the *doxa* motif. The Christ-event inaugurates the vindication of God's *doxa*, the transformation of the believers (Israel and the nations alike) into the likeness of the image of the God of glory, namely Christ, and the restoration of the entire creation.

Furthermore, Paul applied the narrative in light of his contemporary audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, in their social structure in the middle of an emperor cult. The studies of Harrison and Hellerman have shown that Paul's *doxa* motif needs to be understood in the context of the emperor's identification with glory. This study, however, shows that this identification does not overrule Paul's intentional use of *doxa* within the framework of the Adam and Israel narratives. On one hand, the identification with the crucified and risen Christ, *doxa*, transforms the participators with the intended consummated and completed Adamic image into Christ's *doxa*, and on the other hand, confronts emperor worship and identification with its self-aggrandising image. The identification with Christ's *doxa* has immediate contemporary applications, such as humility, suffering, and submission. According to Paul, this transformation is not, however, consummated until Christ's *parousia*. In short, this study shows that the vindication of the *doxa* of God through Christ and the completed transformation of the displayed *doxa* and image of God in humanity is the narrative structure that undergirds Paul's *doxa* motif.

6.2. Implications of the Study

The aforementioned findings of this study have the following implications for Pauline studies:

1. *The history of doxa studies in Paul*. My study was built on Newman's groundbreaking study on *doxa*. In other words, the *theophany* of God revealed in Christ is one of the major *doxa* motifs. This study advances on that foundation, contending that Christ's *doxa theophany*

points to the identification of Christ as God's intrinsic glory *and* the derivative glory and image of Adam and the eschatological Servant.

2. *Word-studies.* My study confirms Barr's well-acknowledged and accepted notion that no single theological definition should be attached to any given word. Not only does *doxa* have a wide spectrum of semantic range because many Hebrew words were translated as *doxa*, but more significantly, many characters and events are associated with *doxa*. God, Adam, Israel, and the eschatological Servant are the major characters associated with *doxa* from the Jewish Scriptures, and subsequently Paul associates *doxa* with God, Adam, Israel, Christ, and believers in Christ (even among negative associations of the country's own pride and Paul's opponents' own identity without acknowledging God). Therefore, when studying words in biblical literature, one needs to practice caution not to simplify their meaning.
3. *Narrative methodology* in Pauline studies. Narrative methodology has been one of the most significant techniques in Pauline studies in the past thirty years. Despite this, the glory motif has not received sufficient attention. This study confirms the importance of Pauline narrative understanding; the *doxa* motif is one of Paul's neglected concepts that presupposes the whole the story of God, creation, Adam (i.e. humanity), Israel, sin and Christ, and redemption.

This study shows that the Jewish Scriptures portrayed kingly figures as reflecting the derivative glory of God. The derivative *doxa* motif was developed in the Second Temple literature: it did not only affirm the derivative glory motif manifested in royal figures, including Adam, but also anticipated a completion of the first Adamic figure. While Paul does not quote these texts, he may be showing his awareness of this Jewish tradition by portraying the resurrected Christ as the second and last Adam, who transforms believers into a consummated humanity.

Jewish Scriptures anticipated the vindication of God's essential glory—not displayed properly in Adam's and Israel's lives—through the eschatological Servant. According to this study, Paul unequivocally portrays Christ as the character who vindicates God's glory, thus fulfilling the role of the eschatological Servant who brings Israel back from Babylonian Captivity.

4. *Paul's theology* of God. Paul's view of God, theology (proper) in relation to the use of the *doxa* motif, is built on the Septuagint understanding. After all, for Paul, *doxa* has God-centered meaning as it defines God's intrinsic character of weightiness and importance, highlighted in His divine presence, truth, immortality, honor, judgment, and sovereign grace. Moreover, the purpose of vindication is to heighten and underscore God's intrinsic glory and character to be manifested among His creation, especially among His people.
5. *Paul's anthropology.* Paul, however, also defines Adam and Israel as the representative of God as His derivative glory. The use of *doxa* as a definition of Adam and Israel has not received sufficient attention, especially in relation to God. This study contends that *glory* is sometimes used synonymously with the word image and communicates humanity's responsibility and privilege, representing God's character in the creation appropriately.

Paul's anthropology in relation to *doxa* is progressive. This study argued that the first Adamic creational *doxa* was merely a preview of the greater and second Adam. Even before the fall, Adam-glory purposed something better. This progress does not mean that the material creatureness is lost, rather it is a creation 2.0 type of advancement.

Surprisingly, the *doxa* motif also contributes to Pauline gender and sexual studies. In four different passages, Paul connects the importance of gender differences and sexuality, always referring back to the Genesis creation order narratives.

6. *Paul's Christology*. On one hand, scholars such as Dunn have emphasized Adam-glory Christology at the expense of Christ's identification with God's intrinsic glory. On the other hand, Newman has shown that the Christ-event functions as God's theophany. This study contends that for Paul, Christ is defined as both, God's intrinsic *doxa* and God's derivative *doxa*. In other words, Paul equates Christ with God's essential ontological glory identity and also identifies Christ as God's derivative glory, namely the second (and better) Adam (humanity), embodied Israel, and the eschatological Servant. Thus, the result of this study has implications for studies on Paul and hypostatic union, i.e. the doctrine of Christ's two natures.
7. *Sociology of identity formation*. The importance of sociology has grown in Pauline studies in recent years, including those on identity formation. Paul evokes the intentional strategy to identify his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, with the *past* fallen Adam and Israel. By referring to the Jewish Scriptures and applying them to the contemporary audience, he wants them to avoid considering themselves better than other ethnicities. Moreover, this study shows that Paul intentionally contrasts his *present* contemporary opponents (shameful *doxa*), the emperors (prideful *doxa*), and the Stoic worldview with Christ's *doxa*. Finally, the *future* identity of those who attach themselves to Christ is secure as they experience total transformation into the likeness of Christ's *doxa*.
8. *Paul's eschatology*. Paul's eschatology in relation to *doxa* is transformational. This study shows that Paul does not consider "heaven" to be an ultimate hope for believers; rather, his view of the *eschaton* is the glorification of believers into the likeness of Christ in the presence of a glorious God on a restored earth. God's glory is vindicated in two phases: his death and his resurrection are the keys to Christ's identification as God's intrinsic and derivative *doxa*. Yet this vindication will be consummated in believers' glorification into complete and full humanity (Christ's derivative glory) and the entire creation's redemption at Christ's *parousia*. Paul's view of restoration goes, thus, beyond the original creational glory.
9. *Pauline ethics*. Paul motivates his readers with ethical imperatives in light of Christ's current glory and his readers' eschatological glorification. On one hand, he calls his readers to identify themselves with the crucified and the resurrected Christ of the past. On the other hand, he motivates them with reference to the future eschatological consummation of their glorification at Christ's *parousia*. The ethical exhortations are an inevitable result of vindicating the Creator's glory through Christ and a reflection of creational commands encompassing virtues such as sexual engagement, humility, and unity.
10. *Pauline hermeneutical technique*. It seems that Paul employs a hermeneutical method, from inferior and temporary glory to more superior and permanent glory to communicate his

view of God's redemptive narrative in the world. There may be some similarities to Jewish hermeneutical method, *qal wahomer*. In other words, for Paul, the story of God's world is creation, the fall, and redemption—from the original creation to the *greater* creation. The restoration does not merely return to the original creation; rather, the eschatological restoration is qualitatively better than the original creation. Moreover, Paul seems to parallel the Genesis creation-fall narrative with Israel's creation-fall narratives in light of the *doxa* motif.

11. Patristic *theosis* theology. There is an emerging interest concerning the dependency between Patristic *theosis* theology and Pauline glorification thought. While this study did not dialogue with those studies, the findings of this study, including the distinction of intrinsic *doxa* and derivative *doxa*, need to be considered in future dialogues between these two disciplines.
12. *Future Research*. This advancement in Pauline studies also calls for further research. At least two questions arose from this study: How does the Pauline *doxa* motif look in the disputed letters in comparison to undisputed letters? Moreover, how does the Pauline *doxa* motif differ from the *doxa* motif in the Gospel of John?⁷⁵⁶

To conclude, by using a narrative methodological approach, this study advanced the research in Pauline studies by examining the *doxa* motif as one of the undergirding narratives. Paul inherited a *doxa* narrative with characters from the Jewish Scriptures. The primary character is the intrinsic *doxa* of the Lord that displays Himself in holiness, superiority over other gods, and is manifested in the tabernacle and the temple. The Lord also grants, gives and crowns *doxa* to other characters, namely, to Adam (i.e. humanity), Israel, royal kings, and the eschatological Servant. Paul wants his audience, Jews and Gentiles alike, to identify with the fallen Adam and Israel as the ones who are not displaying the *doxa* of God properly due to idolatry. Paul then redefines and develops the narrative in light of the Christ-event. He identifies Christ as the intrinsic *doxa* of God and as the derived *doxa* and image of God, namely the eschatological second Adam, royal king, and eschatological Servant. Finally, Paul urges his audience to identify, not with the *doxa* of his opponents or of Caesar, but with the suffering of the crucified and risen Christ, the *doxa* of God, in order to be transformed into His likeness. The vindication of the *doxa* of God, namely His intrinsic character and divine presence, through Christ and the transformation into likeness of the *doxa* of Christ, is the narrative structure that undergirds Paul's *doxa* motif.

⁷⁵⁶ See Rainer Schwindt, *Gesichte der Herrlichkeit: Eine exegetisch-traditionsgeschichtliche Studie zur paulinischen und johanneischen Christologie*, Herders biblische Studien, Bd. 50 (Freiburg: Herder, 2007), and Richard Bauckham, *The Gospel of Glory: Major Themes in Johannine Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015).

APPENDIX 1

THE OCCURRENCES OF *DOXA* IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

Scripture (the number of <i>doxa</i> occurrences)	Characters					Other	
	The glory of God: essential and intrinsic character		The glory of Christ: essential character of God and second Adam & eschatological Servant	The glory of Adam and Israel: essential character of humanity and Israel		Reference to (Adam, Moses, Exodus analogy)	Brightness, honor, vainglory etc.
Ascriptions	Eschatological vindication through Christ	Original image and glory of Adam		Eschatological glory			
<i>Undisputed letters</i>							
Rom 1:21-23 (3)	X			X		X	
Rom 2:7 (1)	X						
Rom 3:23 (1)	X			X		X	
Rom 4:20 (1)	X						
Rom 5:2 (1)	X	X					
Rom 6:4 (1)	X	X					
Rom 8:18-25 (3)		X	X		X		
Rom 8:30 (1)			X		X		
Rom 9:4 (1)	X					X	
Rom 9:22 (2)	X	X			X	X	
Rom 11:25-27 (1)	X					X	
Rom 16:27 (1)	X						
1 Cor 2:6-8 (2)		X	X		X		
1 Cor 4:10 (1)							X
1 Cor 6:20 (1)		X					
1 Cor 10:31 (1)		X					
1 Cor 11:7 (2)				X		X	
1 Cor 12:26 (1)						X	X
1 Cor 15:35-49 (6)			X	X	X	X	X
2 Cor 1:20 (1)	X	X					
2 Cor 3:3-4:16 (17)	X	X	X		X	X	
2 Cor 6:8 (1)							X
2 Cor 8:19 (1)					X		
2 Cor 8:23 (1)			X				
2 Cor 9:13 (1)	X						
Gal 1:5 (1)	X	X					
Gal 1:24 (1)	X	X					
Phil 1:20 (1)	X	X					
Phil 2:4 (1)							X
Phil 2:10 (1)	X	X				X	
Phil 3:17-21 (2)			X		X		X
Phil 4:19-20 (2)	X	X				X	
1 Thess 2:6 (1)							X
1 Thess 2:12 (1)	X	X					
1 Thess 2:20 (1)						X	X

APPENDIX 2

THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF *DOXA* IN THE SEPTUAGINT

The Translation of *Kabod* in the Septuagint

While there are twenty-nine Hebrew words translated as *doxa* in the Septuagint, the most common word is *kabod*. The root *kabod* with its derivatives occurs 376 times in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁵⁷ It can have a neutral, negative, or positive meaning.

In its primitive neutral function, *kabod* means something that is, either literally or figuratively, *heavy, weighty or abundant*.⁷⁵⁸ For example, heaviness is literal in the case of Moses's hands that were heavy or tired (Exod 17:12 קָבֵד / βαρύς in LXX), in the case of Eli, who was fat (1 Sam 4:18 קָבֵד / βαρύς in LXX), and in the case of Absalom, hair that was heavy (2 Sam 14:26 קָבֵד / καταβαρύνω in LXX).⁷⁵⁹

More often the heaviness or weightiness is figurative. Collins mentions the following examples as neutral uses of figurative heaviness:⁷⁶⁰ a yoke as a labor can be heavy (1 Kgs 12:4, 10, 11, 14; 2 Chrn 10:4, 10, 11, 14; Is 47:6; βαρύς or βαρύνω in LXX); a rock can be heavy (Is 32:2 LXX translates heavy rock as ἔνδοξος); a chain can be heavy (Lam 3:7 βαρύνω in LXX); God's hand can be heavy (1 Sam 5:6; Ps 32:4 βαρύνω in LXX); and a human hand can be heavy (Judg 1:35 βαρύνω in LXX).⁷⁶¹ Noticeably, when *kabod* communicates a neutral concrete or figurative meaning, the LXX has a strong tendency (with one exception that I found) *not* to translate it as *doxa*, but almost always as βαρύς or one of its conjugates.

The figurative use is not limited to the neutral range. Indeed, as John Collins and John Oswalt have shown well, *kabod* usually refers to a negative idea regarding the unresponsiveness of a body part or the severity or size of a negative event or experience.⁷⁶² In all these passages, *kabod* is rendered other than *doxa*. For example, Pharaoh's heart is hardened (קָבֵד; Exod 7:14; 8:15 [8:11 in BHU], 28; 9:7, 34; 10:1; cf. 1 Sam 6:6):

Now the LORD said to Moses, "The heart of Pharaoh is weighed down [קָבֵד / βαρέω] so as not to send away the people. (Exod 7:14 LXX NETS)

⁷⁵⁷ Oswalt, "קָבֵד," in *TWOT*, 943.

⁷⁵⁸ Weinfeld, "קָבֵד," in *TDOT*.

⁷⁵⁹ See also Collins, "קָבֵד," in *NIDOTE* 2:577-87 and Oswalt, "קָבֵד," (though they do not mention Moses as an example; see also J. Tigey, "'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': On Moses Speech Difficulty," *BASOR* 231 (1978): 57-67.

⁷⁶⁰ Collins, "קָבֵד," in *NIDOTE* 2:577-87.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Ibid.; Oswalt, "קָבֵד," in *TWOT*, 943.

But when Pharaoh saw that respite had occurred, his heart was weighed down [קָבַד / βαρύνω], and he did not listen to them, just as the LORD said. (Exod 8:15 LXX NETS; cf. 8:28; 9:7, 34)

Then the LORD spoke to Moses, saying, “Go in to Pharaoh, for I made his heart and his attendants heavy [קָבַד / σκληρύνω] in order that one after another these signs might come upon them.” (Exod 10:1 LXX NETS)

We can see that the Septuagint does not translate *kabod* as *doxa* in these cases, but uses three other verbs: βαρέω, βαρύνω, and σκληρύνω. Interestingly, in Romans 9 Paul uses Pharaoh as an example to make God’s own *doxa* visible. Could Paul have been intentionally contrasting Pharaoh’s hardened heart with God’s heart? If this was the case, Paul was here following the Hebrew text rather than the Septuagint.

Not only was Pharaoh’s heart hardened, but also Israel’s (Jacob) eyes were dim (Gen 48:10; βαρύνω in LXX), Moses’ mouth and tongue (Exod 4:10; ισχνόφωνος and βραδύγλωσσος in LXX) are described as unresponsive, and the Israelites’ ears (Is 6:10; παχύνω in LXX; Zech 7:11; βαρύνω in LXX) are described as being slow to hear. All this dullness is expressed by *kabod*.

Similarly, many negative events and experiences are expressed as being severe or hard by using *kabod*. Events such as a famine (Gen 12:10; 41:31; 43:1; 47:4, 13; ἐνισχύω, ισχυρός in LXX), a battle (Judg 20:34; 1 Sam 31:3; 1 Chr 10:3; βαρύνω in LXX), a plague (Exod 9:3; μέγας in LXX), hail (Exod 9:18, 24 πολὺς in LXX), vexation (Job 6:3; Prov 27:3 βαρὺς in LXX), lamentation (Gen 50:10-11 ισχυρός in LXX), Moses’s business matters (Exod. 18:18 βαρὺς in LXX), pressure (Job 33:7; βαρὺς in LXX), debts (Hab 2:6; βαρύνω in LXX), or a sin (Gen 18:20; μέγας in LXX; Is 24:20; in κατισχύω Ps 37:5 LXX; ὑπεραίρω in LXX) are labeled as *kabod*. We can see that the translators use words such as ἐνισχύω, ισχυρός, βαρύνω, βαρὺς, μέγας, and πολὺς when denoting negative events or experiences. They do not use *doxa* for these purposes.

The third semantic field for *kabod* is rather positive. This usage includes being “heavy” in terms of earthly possessions (Gen 13:2; πλούσιος in LXX; Prov 12:9 τιμή in LXX; Ezek 27:25; βαρύνω in LXX), giving honor to other people (e.g. Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; τιμάω in LXX Ps 15:4 δοξάζω; 1 Sam 2:29 δοξάζω in LXX; 1 Sam 9:6 ἔνδοξος in LXX; 2 Sam 23:23 ἔνδοξος in LXX; Gen 34:19 ἔνδοξος in LXX), and giving honor to the Lord. Notably, the Septuagint translates קָבַד as τιμάω and δοξάζω only when the context indicates honoring someone, whether the honoree is

another person or God. In other words, usually when *doxa* is the translation,⁷⁶³ it has a positive connotation regarding the honor of another.

Because translators used more than twenty other Greek words, it is too simplistic to equate *doxa* with *kabod*. We have seen, however, that there is a significant, though not all-inclusive, consistency regarding the translation of *kabod* into Greek.⁷⁶⁴ Even though *kabod* takes a neutral, negative, and positive meaning in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint translators tend to use *doxa* when the context demands the positive meaning, namely *honor*.

Other Hebrew Words Translated into *Doxa* in the Septuagint

Not only *kabod* but also other Hebrew words were translated as *doxa* in the Septuagint.⁷⁶⁵ This pattern shows that the translators were not mechanical or automatic in their translations.⁷⁶⁶ Henton Davis records that “no fewer than twenty-five Hebrew words are rendered by *doxa* in the LXX.”⁷⁶⁷ Newman’s analysis is based on the LXX concordance stating that “some twenty-four different Hebrew words are rendered by *doxa*.”⁷⁶⁸ In fact, however, there are at least twenty-nine (29) different Hebrew words (nouns or verbs) that are translated as *doxa* or its conjugates.

⁷⁶³ Of two hundred noun occurrences of *kabod* in the Hebrew Bible, some 181 times it is translated as δόξα. There are, nevertheless, at least nineteen times when the noun כְּבוֹד is translated other than δόξα: ἥπαρ (liver, inner being) in Genesis 49:6 (this is because a close Hebrew cognate word for a liver is כֶּבֶד). It frequently refers to a place of positive or negative emotions (Collins, *NIDOTE*, 2:577-87); τιμή in Exod 28:2, 40, Is 11:10, 14:18, and Prov 25:27, 26:1; γλῶσσα (tongue) in Ps 15:9 (LXX; cf. Ps 29:13 LXX); κιβωτός (ark, covenant, chest, boat) in 1 Sam 4:21; πλοῦτος (wealth, abundance, honor) in Is 61:1, 6; βαρυκάριος (my glory turned into shame) in Ps 4:3; βαρύνω (to make heavy) in Nah 2:10; καλός (beautiful, handsome, good) in Is 22:18; κύριος (lord, owner) in Is 5:13; στρωννύω/στρώννυμι (spread in part. form) in Ezek 23:41. In addition, on three occasions כְּבוֹד is not translated at all (Is 10:18; Ezek 31:18; Ps 66:2). Again, we can see that the times when *doxa* is not used, the context of כְּבוֹד is referring to something else besides honor.

⁷⁶⁴ Whenever used in a profane non-theocentric sense to talk about a concrete or figurative idea, the translators typically chose *not* to use *doxa*. Because the semantic range of *kabod* includes literal and figurative heaviness, unresponsiveness of a human organ, heaviness of a negative event or experience, and a description of honor of a person and the Lord, including the temple of the Lord, it is indeed not surprising to see a variety of Greek words used in the Septuagint. Indeed, at least twenty-one different Greek words are used to translate *kabod* and its derivatives in the Septuagint. The following words are also used to translate *kabod*: ισχνόφωνος, βραδύγλωσσος, βαρέω, βαρύνω, καταβαρύνω, σκληρύνω, ἐνισχύω, ισχυρός, βαρύς, μέγας, πολὺς, ἥπαρ, τιμή, τιμάω, γλῶσσα, κιβωτός, πλοῦτος, βαρυκάριος, καλός, κύριος, στρωννύω/στρώννυμι. Dohmen counts 23 equivalents used by the LXX.

⁷⁶⁵ Gen 31:16; Exod 15:7, 11a, 28:2, 40, 33:16, 19, 34:29, 30a, 35; Num 12:8, 23:22, 24:8, 27:20; 1 Chr 2:5, 16:27, 27; 2 Chr 2:5, 5:13; Job 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Ps 17:15, 21:6, 149:9; Is 2:10, 19, 21, 5:16, 6:1, 11:3, 22:22, 24:14, 15, 26:10, 28:5, 30:30, 40:6, 26, 45:25, 46:13, 49:3, 52:1, 13, 14, 53:2, 55:5, 60:7, 9, 19, 61:3, 63:12, 64:10; Jer 13:18, 23:9; Lam 2:1, 15; Ezek 10:22; 38:23. The list is partly adopted from Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 142, note 29. However, Newman mistakenly has 1 Chronicles 16:24 instead of 16:27, and also misses 1 Chronicles 2:5, where the LXX adds δόξα. He also cites Isaiah 64:11 instead of Isaiah 64:10 LXX.

⁷⁶⁶ Contrary to this understanding, see T. E. F. Harrison, s.v. “glory,” *ISBE* 2:477-83.

⁷⁶⁷ Davies, “glory,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*.

⁷⁶⁸ Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* 2 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897-1906), 1:341-43. Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 142-143.

Table: Other Hebrew Words besides *Kabod* Translated as *Doxa* in the Septuagint

δόξα /δοξάζω/ δόξασμα in the LXX	The Hebrew Word	The Hebrew Word Lexical Meaning ⁷⁶⁹
1 Chr 22:5; 2 Chr 3:6; Exod 28:40; Is 28:5; 46:13; 52:1; 60:19; 63:12; 64:10; Jer 13:11, 18, 20; Lam 2:1 Prov 28:12	תְּפָאָרַת	beauty, glory, finery, splendor, ornament
1 Chr 16:27; 29:25; Num 27:20; Job 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Ps 21:16; Is 30:30	הוֹד	splendor, majesty, vigor, authority
Is 2:10, 19, 21; 53:2; Ps 149:9	הֶדָר	ornament, beauty
2 Chr 30:8	יָד	hand (give a hand to the Lord)
Esth 6:3	יָקָר	preciousness, price, honor, treasure
Gen 31:16; Ps 111:3 (LXX)	עֲשָׂר	riches, wealth
Exod 15:7	גִּאּוֹן	exaltation
Exod 15:11; 28:2	אֲדָר	wide, great, high, noble, (make glorious)
Exod 33:16	פָּלָה	be separated, be distinct, be distinguished
Exod 33:19	טוֹב	goodness, beauty (moral and aesthetic)
Exod 34:29, 30, 35	קָרַן	be radiant, be with horns
Num 12:8; Ps 16:15 (LXX)	תְּמוּנָה	form, likeness, representation
Num 23:22; 24:8	תּוֹעֲפּוֹת	strength, horns, the best, eminence, peaks
Is 5:16; Jer 23:9	קֹדֶשׁ; קִדְּשׁ	be sacred, be consecrated, be dedicated, be holy; sanctuary, holiness, holy object
Is 6:1	שׂוֹל	skirt, hem, a majestic train
Is 11:3	מֵרָאָה	sight, appearance, clearness, vision, huge
Is 17:4	בָּשָׂר	creature, flesh, body
Is 22:22	מִפְתֵּחַ	key (of David's house)
Is 26:10	גִּאוּת	majesty, pride, surging sea
Is 40:6	חֶסֶד	loyal love, glory, favor
Is 40:26	אוֹן	power, wealth, manhood, vigor, strength
Is 45:25	הִלָּל	shine, praise, be praised, boast
Is 49:3; 55:5; 60:7, 9	פָּאֵר	glorify oneself, boast, adorn, beautify
Is 52:13	גָּבַהּ	be tall, exalt, be proud
Is 52:14	תֵּאֵר	appearance, outline, form
Is 61:3	פָּאֵר	headdress
Lam 2:15	יָפִי	beauty
Ezek 10:22	מֵרָאָה	sight, appearance, pattern, clearness, vision
2 Chr 2:5; 5:13; Is 24:14, 15; Ezek 38:22	Added to the Septuagint text: no correlating Hebrew term available	

⁷⁶⁹ Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles Augustus Briggs, *Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, electronic ed. (Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems, 2000) and Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (Old Testament)*.

What is the semantic range of the different Hebrew words translated as *doxa*? A cursory study of the words in their contexts gives us the following semantic range. First, there are a couple of words that express the idea of *the separateness or holiness of the Lord*: קָדָשׁ and פָּלָה. Second, five of the words from the chart take the meaning of *beauty and goodness* in their semantic range: תְּפָאָרֶת, הָדָר, טוֹב, פָּאָר, יָפִי. These words express the aesthetic beauty of a physical or material ornament. They are also sometimes attached as an attribute of the Lord and His servant(s). Third, two of the words mean primarily *riches, wealth or treasures*: יָקָר and עֶשֶׂר. They are used to describe concrete material possessions. Fourth, there are several Hebrew words that describe *vigor and strength*: הוֹד, אֶזְרָא, מִצְעָד, שִׁי, מִצְעָד, אֶזְרָא, אֶזְרָא. They are typically used to describe the Lord's attributes. Fifth, *visible manifestation and laudability* are expressed by מְרִאָה, הִלָּל, פָּאָר, גְּבוּהָה, and מְרִאָה. Finally, at least two of the words communicate *form, likeness, or representation*: תְּמוּנָה, תָּאָר.⁷⁷⁰ All these Hebrew words are translated as *doxa* at least once in the Septuagint.

To summarize, the semantic range of *doxa* in the Septuagint is wide. The most common Hebrew word that is translated as *doxa* is *kabod*. The translators chose to use *doxa* to associate it with the positive word, *honor*. Moreover, twenty-nine (29) other Hebrew words were translated as *doxa*, at least occasionally. The semantic meaning of these words includes aesthetic beauty, riches and wealth, majestic strength and heaviness, visible manifestation, separateness and holiness, and form and likeness. This variety shows that on the one hand the translators do not systematically or mechanically translate a single word or concept as *doxa*. On the other hand, they make intentional lexical and theological choices when choosing to translate a word as *doxa*. Furthermore, not only *kabod* but also other Hebrew word meanings have affected the semantic range and meaning of *doxa* in the Septuagint.

⁷⁷⁰ In Job 4:16 LXX translated תְּמוּנָה as μορφή. In other words, תְּמוּנָה is translated as μορφή and δόξα. This translation has implications for my thesis with reference to Philippians 2:6, where Paul renders it ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ. Paul sometimes uses εἰκών, μορφή, and δόξα synonymously.

APPENDIX 3

THE OCCURRENCES OF *DOXA* IN THE DISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

Doxa-related words occur 20 times as a noun δόξα,⁷⁷¹ once as a verb δοξάζω,⁷⁷² and twice as a verb ἐνδοξάζομαι⁷⁷³ in the disputed Pauline letters. The table below gives preliminary references to the character that *doxa* is associated with.

Scripture (the number of <i>doxa</i> occurrences)	Characters					Other	
	The glory of God: essential and intrinsic character		The glory of Christ: essential character of God and second Adam & eschatological Servant	The glory of Adam and Israel: essential character of humanity and Israel		Reference to (Adam, Moses, Exodus analogy)	Brightness, honor, vainglory etc.
	Ascriptions	Eschatological vindication through Christ		Original image and glory of Adam	Eschatological glory		
<i>Disputed letters</i>							
Eph 1:3-14 (3)	x	x					
Eph 1:17 (1)	x						
Eph 1:18 (1)					x		
Eph 3:13 (1)							
Eph 3:16 (1)	x		x		x		
Eph 3:21 (1)			x		x		
Col 1:11 (1)	x						
Col 1:27 (2)			x		x		
Col 3:4 (1)					x		
2 Thess 1:9 (1)			x		x		
2 Thess 1:10 (1)			x		x		
2 Thess 1:12 (1)			x		x		
2 Thess 2:14 (1)			x				
2 Thess 3:1 (1)							x
1 Tim 1:11 (1)	x						
1 Tim 1:17 (1)		x					
1 Tim 3:16 (1)							
2 Tim 2:10 (1)			x				
2 Tim 4:18 (1)		x					
Tit 2:13 (1)	x	x	x				

⁷⁷¹ Eph 1:6, 12, 14, 17, 18; 3:13, 16, 21; Col 1:11, 27 (x2); 3:4; 2 Thess 1:9; 2:14; 1 Tim 1:11, 17; 3:16; 2 Tim 2:10; 4:18; Tit 2:13.

⁷⁷² 2 Thess 3:1.

⁷⁷³ 2 Thess 1:10, 12.

APPENDIX 4

EXCURSUS: GLORY IN ROMANS AND THE UNIFIED PURPOSE OF GOD IN REDEPTIVE HISTORY BY DONALD BERRY

Donald Berry explored the eschatological glory theme in Romans in his recent book *Glory in Romans and the Unified Purpose of God in Redemptive History*.⁷⁷⁴ Berry's book is a slightly revised version of his dissertation from Amridge University, US. I came across Berry's research at the very end of my own study, and thus my research and conclusions are completely independent of his. In the following, I briefly describe the methodology, substance and conclusions of Berry's book. At the end, I compare his research to mine.

Berry acknowledges the lack of research about the glory motif in Romans, especially in light of the recent resurgence in the field of biblical theology. His methodology "provides an exegetical, contextual analysis of δόξα in Romans, interpreting Paul's conception of eschatological glory in light of the immediate context of specific occurrences as well as the broader literary context of glory in Romans as a whole."⁷⁷⁵ He also pays attention to the biblical-theological (Old Testament) context from which Paul, according to Berry, "draws his conception of the future glory of believers."⁷⁷⁶ Berry is aware of James Barr's warning against equating words with concepts, and therefore he avoids a lexical approach to theology, in this case in relation to Paul's use of glory language. Rather, by examining the glory words in their own context, Berry encapsulates his research into two questions: Why does Paul so closely connect believers with glory? And what is the nature of this glory?⁷⁷⁷

Chapters 2-4 analyze Romans 1-4. According to Berry, "Israel was to be a corporate Adam, a people who knew God, to whom he would reveal his glory, and through whom he would display his glory to the world."⁷⁷⁸ By examining Romans 1:23 in its own context and the allusions Berry sees, he concludes that Paul has in mind "a loss of human glory in addition to the exchange of God as the object of their worship." Paul grounds the predicament of all humanity in the history of Adam and Israel. Glory is associated with God's own revelation as his own image (εἰκόν). According to Berry, in Romans 2:7, 10 believers are those seeking God's glory and consequently

⁷⁷⁴ Donald L. Berry, *Glory in Romans and the Unified Purpose of God in Redemptive History* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2016).

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 7-10.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

reflecting the character of God. Observing the justification language and the *doxa* motif in close relationship with one another, Berry argues that “both righteousness of God” and “the glory of God” relate to God’s character and nature.”⁷⁷⁹

In chapters 5-8, Berry examines Romans 5-8. The intended, but lost, display of glory in the lives of Adam and Israel, is “fulfilled in those who are in Christ, the last Adam.”⁷⁸⁰ Berry observes that of the six occurrences (5:2; 6:4; 8:17, 18, 21, 30) of the *doxa* word group in these chapters, all but one (6:4) focus on believers’ eschatological participation in glory. While Berry examines the aforementioned passages closely, he also includes other passages (5:12-21; 7:7-25) that are relevant to his investigation. The ultimate glorification takes place in the future, but it is already previewed as believers are brought to life in Christ by the Spirit through suffering. This redemption is brought into the consummation at the Parousia of Christ as believers will then be called the glory of the sons of God. According to Berry, the final glorification encompasses both believers’ inward ethical and outward physical glory as well as the entire creation. In the *eschaton* believers transform not only into the ethical likeness of Christ, but also into His ontological likeness as they “share in God’s own and holy character and essence.”⁷⁸¹ The physical transformation takes place through resurrection. Additionally, Berry suggests two other neglected aspects of transformation: conformity to functional glory ruling as image-bearing servant-kings in the new world and to relational glory in sharing in the sonship of the Son. The functional glory is “expressed through stewardship and responsibility for the creation that mirrors God’s own wise, loving, and creative dominion”⁷⁸² as the believers reign with Christ’s preeminence over renewed creation. Finally, the restored glorification includes the relational aspect of “the full joy of being sons loved by the Father, just as the Father loves and delights in the Son.”⁷⁸³ Consequently, this relationship flows out to the restored relationship with other believers and the rest of creation.

In chapter 9, Berry discusses Romans 9-11. He points out how even here future glorification relates to three occurrences of the *doxa* word group (9:4 and twice in 9:23). The end goal of the glorification of believers serves, however, the glory of God (9:23; 11:36).

Before his conclusion (chapter 11), Berry explores Romans 10-16 (chapter 10): the present life in the body in light of future glory. Again, he includes passages (Romans 12:1-5; 12:4-5) that do not mention *doxa*, but nevertheless, according to Berry, continue the glory narrative in Romans.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 64.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 69.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁸² Ibid., 152.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 155.

The restored personal worship of God (12:1-2) also leads believers to glorify God (12:4-5) as a body in one voice (14:1-15:6). In particular, ethnic boundaries are abolished in the union with the Christ of God's glory.

Berry's research confirms the findings of my dissertation. Paul's references to Adam's and Israel's characters that they lost the glory of God are shared both by Berry and by this study. While Berry does not seem to differentiate God's intrinsic glory from God's derivative glory, as my dissertation does, his study points out that through Christ, the believers' ontological, physical, functional, and relational status is restored to God's glory. The glorification of believers serves the ultimate goal: the glory of God. My dissertation, which explores all seven of Paul's undisputed letters, also showed that Christ is identified with the intrinsic and derived glory of God, and that the eschatological glorification of believers is greater than the original glory lost by Adam and Israel. Berry does not discuss this issue in his study. Nevertheless, Berry's study and my dissertation, both conducted independently of each other, have come to similar conclusions regarding the use of *doxa* in Romans.

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